

THE HEBREW TRIBAL SYSTEM
IN THE LIGHT OF EARLY HEBREW POEMS

Ph. D. Thesis presented to Edinburgh University by James Ball

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James Ball, The Hebrew Tribal System etc.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

p 23 par 3 line 1, 4th word, Ashurites

p 26 par 1 line 10, Albright

p 28 par 3 line 2, ~~the~~ "v 3 & 4"

p 40 par 3 line 14, 1st word, for "Shechem" read "Shiloh"

p 47 par 2 ("Othniel's exploit..."); at beginning of line 3, for "may be deferred until later", read "here would be irrelevant"

p 61 line 1, "references"

p 61, end of par 1. Add footnote, "Cf the terms of Magna ~~Charta~~ ^{Charter}"

p 61 par 3 line 21, omit last word, "by"

p 62 par 2 line 8, omit second "priestly", and to first ^{priestly} "priestly" add footnote: "Not necessarily 'P', but tradition preserved at sanctuaries."

p 63 par 3 line 8, "Rome"

p 66 par 1 line 21, after "on those" add "hills"

p 67 par 4 line 7, for "the first", read "it"

p 69 par 1 line 5, "Mirsim"

p 76 par 2 last line, after "altogether" add "from the original compilation"

p 93 par 2 line 11 read "meant for Gath"

p 100 par 2 line 2, read "This is the fact"

p 104 line 10, "burial-ground"

p 120 line 4, comma after "surely"

p 121 line 2, read "If we begin"

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- I The wanderings of the Ark, and Samuel's circuit.
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LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED

(Only the works actually cited in the thesis are included here. Various other authors have been consulted.)

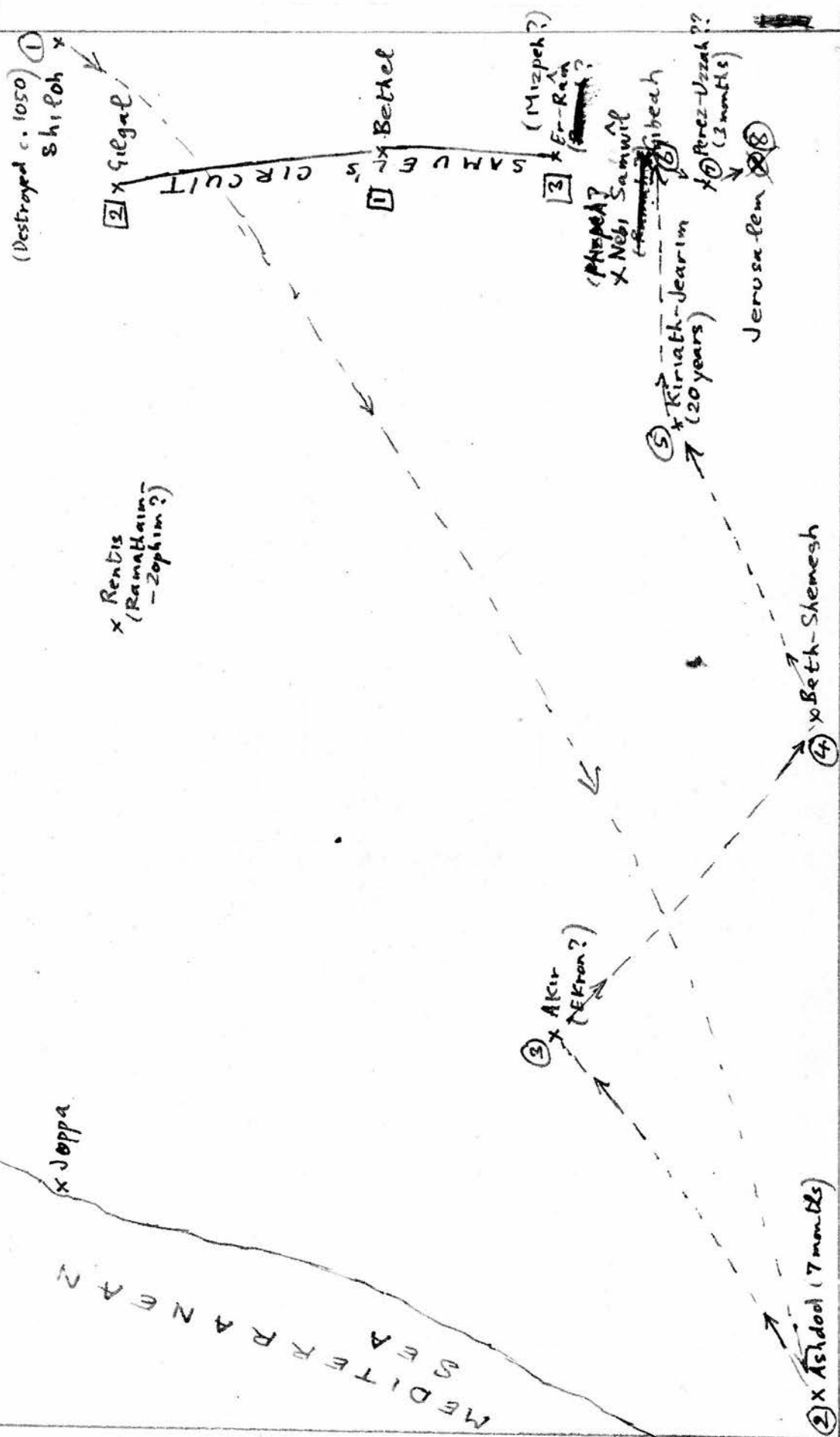
Author	Abbreviation	Full Title
Albright	Arch. Pal. Bibl. Period Stone Age etc	The Archaeology of Palestine (Pelican Edition) The Biblical Period From the Stone Age to Christianity
Allcroft & Masom	Tut. Hist. Rome	The Tutorial History of Rome
Alt	Kl. Schr.	Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel
Briggs	ICC Ps(alms)	Commentary on the Psalms
Bright	Early Is	Early Israel in Recent History Writing
Buber		Das Königthum Gottes
Burney	Jd	Commentary on Judges
Driver (S. R.)	ICC Dt	Commentary on Deuteronomy
Gesenius-Kautzsch		Hebrew Grammar
Glueck	Jordan	The River Jordan
Gray	ICC Nm	Commentary on Numbers
Grollenberg	Atlas	Atlas of the Bible
Grote	Hist Gr	A History of Greece
Harper	ICC Amos	Commentary on Amos
Hooke	Origins	The Origins of Early Semitic Ritual
Kittel		Biblia Hebraica
Mommsen	Hist. Rome	History of Rome
Noth	GI Josua System	Geschichte Israels (2nd Revised Ed'n) Das Buch Josua Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels
Oesterley	AHP Hist Is II	Ancient Hebrew Poems History of Israel, Vol II
Ordnance Survey		
Robinson (T. H.)	Hist Is I	History of Israel, Vol I
Rowley	J-J OT & Mod Stud	From Joseph to Joshua The Old Testament and Modern Study (Symposium edited by Rowley)
Skinner	ICC Gn	Commentary on Genesis
Smith	ICC Sam	Commentary on 1,2 Samuel
Woolley		Ur of the Chaldees

THE WANDERINGS OF THE ARK AND SAMUEL'S CIRCUIT

MAP I

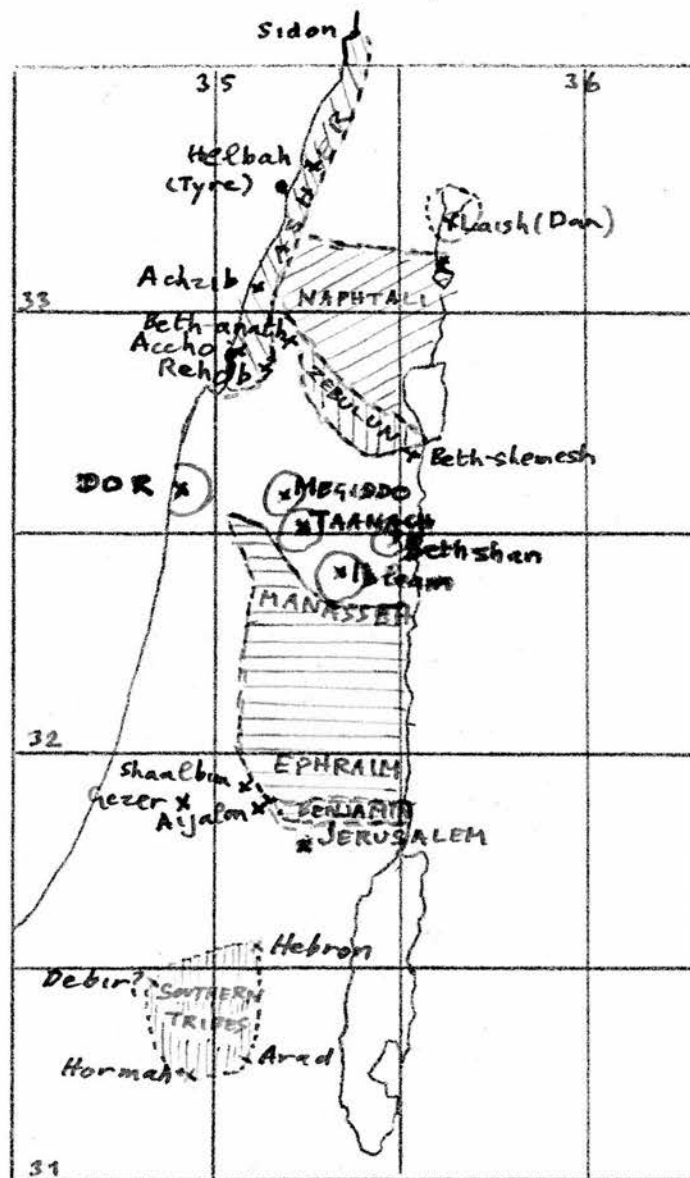
Miles 5 4 3 2 1 0

MEDITERRANEAN SEA



THE NEGATIVE CONFESSION Jd 1. v 21, 27f

MAP II

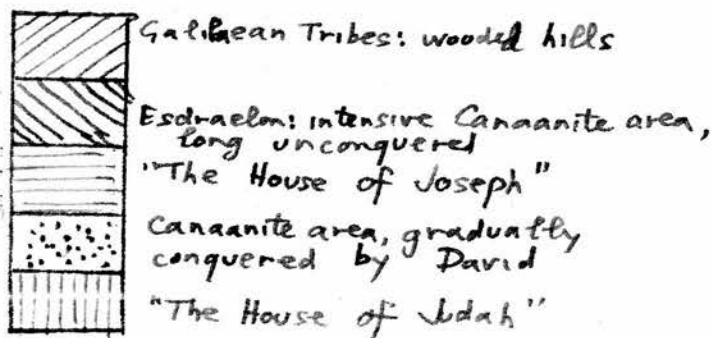
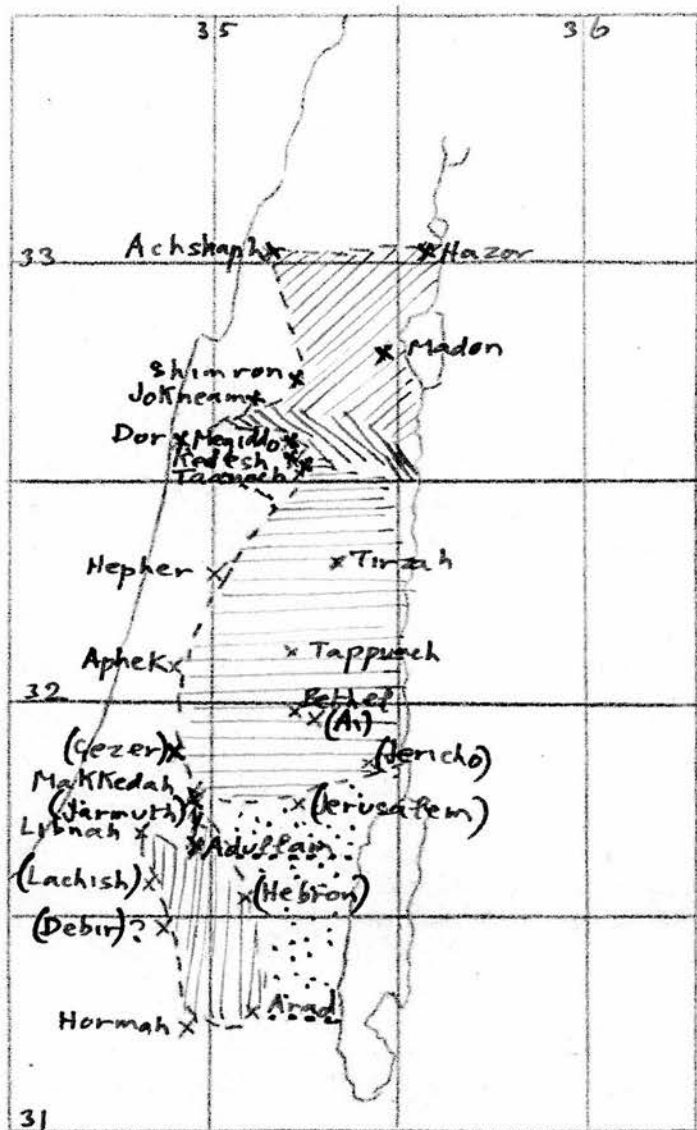


The area occupied by the southern tribes is not mentioned in the Negative Confession, but is shown here for reference, as it is described in Jd 1 v 1-20, Jsh 14 v 14, 15, and Jsh 15 v 13-19.

The circles around Dor etc indicate that these cities possessed tributary towns and villages.

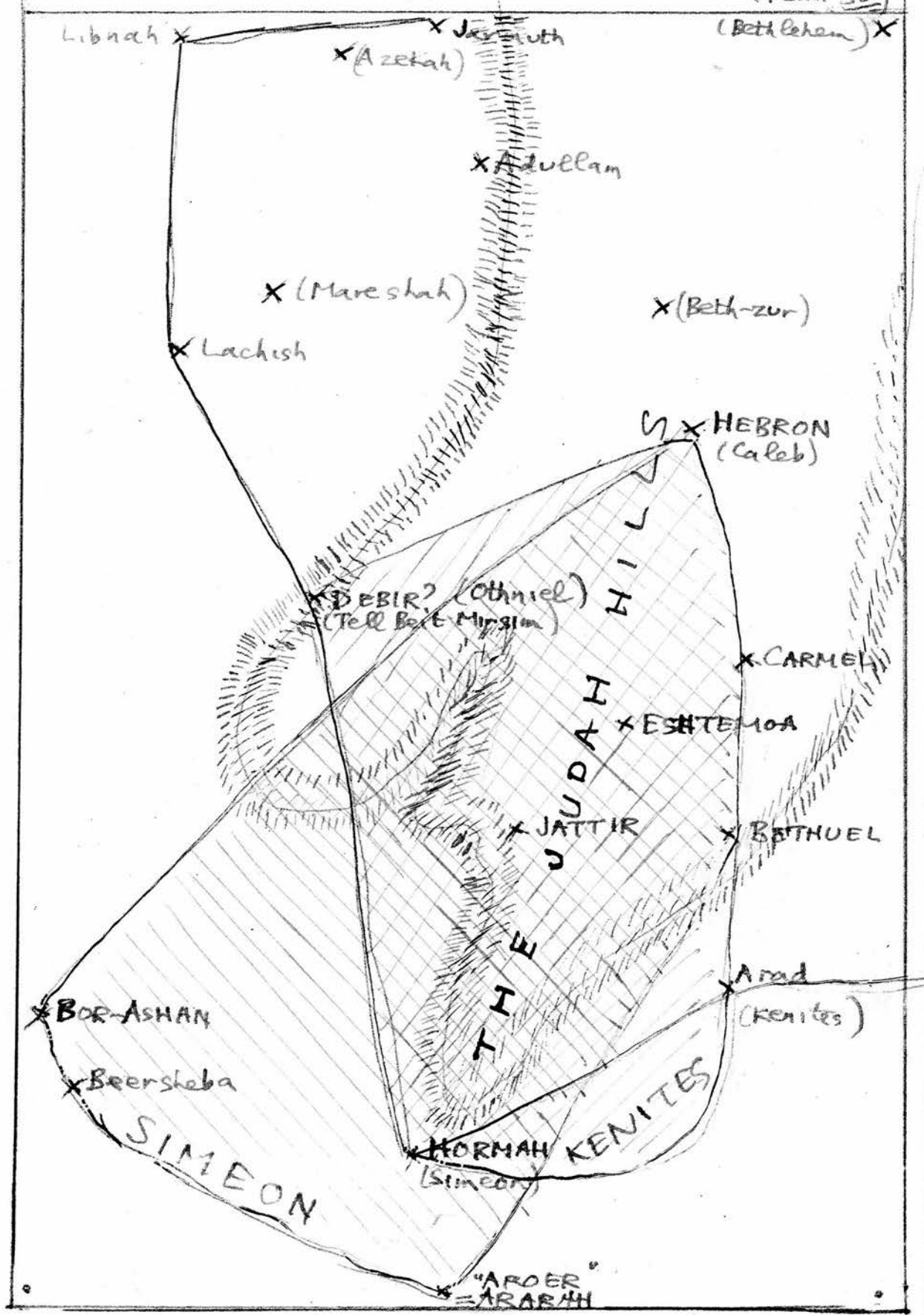
THE KING-LIST
Joshua 12 v 9f

MAP III



2 THE ELDERS OF JUDAH (1 Sam. 30 v. 26-31) MAP IV

 King-List (Jsd 12)
 Early Conquests (Jsd 1)
 Elders of Judah (1 Sam 30)



30'

35°

Sea of Galilee

730'

MAP V

TOPOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATIONS OF THE PATRIARCHS

Shaded Areas are associated with Abram, Laban, Jacob, or Isaac, according to their initial letter.

(The real Abraham-area is probably the Beersheba-Hebron sector.)

Spring of Harod

30'

32°

32°

* Gaza 30'

* GERAR

* Debir

BEERSHEBA

* Arad

* Hormah

MAMRE (HEBRON)

* BETHLEHEM

* JERUSALEM

* BETHAEL

SHECHEM

SUGOTH

JENUEL
MIZPAH
OF GILEAD

Abel-shittim

Heshbon

LUT

BAHR

Arnon

30'

30'

31°

35°

30'

31°

HMAEL
BEER-LAHAI-Roi?
(Ismael & Isaac)

ESAU
(= EDOM)

THE HEBREW TRIBAL SYSTEM IN THE LIGHT OF EARLY HEBREW POEMS.

Ph. D. Thesis presented to the University of Edinburgh by James Ball.

PART ONE. THE SONG OF DEBORAH.

Chapter 1. GENERAL VIEW OF THE SONG OF DEBORAH.

It is generally recognised that certain poems contained in the Pentateuch and in the historical books of the OT are earlier than their context, and are probably among the earliest writings in the OT. The oldest of these songs (including the Song of Deborah, the Song of Miriam, the Blessing of Jacob, and the Oracles of Balaam) probably date partly from the united Monarchy and partly from the period of the Judges. (This point will be considered in detail later.) The Blessing of Moses may also be ancient, though its date seems uncertain. The earliest prose ~~prose~~ writings of the OT, broadly speaking, appear to be contained in parts of Judges and 1,2 Samuel. These also record traditions of the Judges and the early Monarchy. The Pentateuch seems more likely to represent a body of cultic tradition of the later Monarchy, with exilic and post-exilic additions. Its historical witness is therefore indirect, and often cryptic.

Hence, although the OT purports to trace the development of the Hebrew tribal system from Abraham downwards, its earliest witness dates from the two periods of the Judges and the early Monarchy. A study of that tribal system in the light of early Hebrew poetry is therefore primarily concerned with the system as it existed under the Judges and early Monarchy. The curtain rises in the days of Deborah. And the Song of Deborah is our most important witness, and will therefore receive first consideration.

Although the vast majority of scholars since 1800 have accepted the Song of Deborah as a very old composition, there have been a few dissenting voices. In 1876, Seinecke (*"Geschichte des Volkes Israel"*, 1st ed'n, 1876, p 243, 245) regarded it as a piece of pure mythology, full of late Aramaisms, and containing two names - Barak (lightning) and Deborah (bee) - which, he thought, could not possibly be those of historic human beings. Lapidoth (thunder-flashes), also, who appears in the prose version as Deborah's husband, seemed to Seinecke a mere nature-impersonation. One can understand Seinecke's difficulty easily enough; but, after all, such a name as "lightning" might well be the nickname of a military hero, especially if he had won his fame by a "lightning" victory, or by a victory in which an unexpected thunderstorm had helped him to rout the enemy. And the alleged Aramaisms, if they be such, would today no longer be regarded as inevitably late. The large number of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in the OT reveals the danger of drawing rash conclusions from unfamiliar forms.

In 1883 Maurice Vernès (see Moore, ICC Judges, 129f) startled the scholastic world by affirming that the Song of Deborah was later, not earlier, than the corresponding prose version. In Jd 4 only two tribes fight Sisera; this, to him, was more probable than the six tribes of the song. Many details in the song, he believed, had been copied from later OT literature: Taanach and Megiddo from Jd 1 v 27 or Jsh 1 v 21: Meroz (= Meron) from Jsh 12 v 23: Dan in ships, from the unhistorical partition of Palestine in Jsh. The song, he claimed, was "extremely artificial" and its language late: accordingly he dated it in the 4th or 3rd cent. B.C., and the prose version in the 5th cent. Moore (ICC Jd 129) remarks that

Vernes' philology was weak and his facts were often half-truths. Moore himself finds Jd 5 free from anachronisms, and full of intense feeling that could only have been first-hand. "Critics", he writes (op. cit. 129), "have been almost unanimous in attributing the ode to a contemporary."

Among later writers, Burney ("Judges", 1918, p xl) states that Jd 5 is much older than Jd 4, though both are contained in E. (He holds to the old orthodox documentary theory.) On p 83 of the same work, he says that Jd 5 is probably taken from some old written source, such as the Book of Jashar or the Book of the Wars of Yahweh, because (1) the great corruption of the text suggests that it was copied from some ancient and partly illegible document, and (2) v 2 appears to be an introductory title, copied from the ancient collection from which the song was taken. Similar corruptions, he remarks, exist in the Lament for Saul (2 S 1 v 17f) and in two verses of Solomon's prayer of dedication (1 K 8 v 12,13), both of which, he says, are from the Book of Jashar. As regards alleged late Aramaisms, he says (p 175), "In the 12th century B.C. - i.e., at about the period of the Song of Deborah - Aramaic may scarcely as yet have been differentiated from Hebrew as a separate language, but the two may have appeared as somewhat closely related dialectical forms of the one language which was known to the Assyrians as 'the tongue of Amurru'."

In 1932, T. H. Robinson (Hist. Is. I 78) wrote that Jd 5 "is admitted on all hands to be the work of a poet who actually witnessed the defeat of Sisera."

The discovery in 1929 of the Ras Shamra tablets and their decipherment and publication in 1939 and the following years revealed many Ugaritic parallels to such Israelite victory-songs as the Song of Deborah and the Song of Miriam. In OT & Mod. Study, p 33, Albright says that in the light of Ugaritic literature, "the generally accepted date for the Song of Deborah is confirmed, and...the Song of Miriam (or Moses) in Ex 15 is added to it as an outstanding example of early triumphal poetry. The Oracles of Balaam receive strong support for their antiquity from Ugarit, and a number of psalms turn out to date back to the 10th century or earlier. Moreover, the great age of the Blessing of Jacob and of Moses is confirmed, and it becomes difficult to date the psalm transmitted in 1 S 22 = Ps 18 after the 10th century B.C." In his "Archaeology of Palestine", Pelican ed'n, p 230-236, Albright discusses the Ugaritic texts in greater detail, and draws attention to the climactic parallelism common to those texts and to the OT songs listed above. He stresses the fact that although Ex 15 is so similar in style to Jd 5, critics have assigned to it a late date, merely because in v 17 it refers to "the mountain of thine inheritance", which, they assumed, must mean Jerusalem. But in the Canaanite Baal epic, composed not later than 1400 B.C., the home of Baal is similarly described as being "on the mountain of his inheritance".

The vital importance of Albright's statements for this present study is obvious from the fact that all the poems he names, except, perhaps, Ps 18, are principal witnesses for the growth of the tribal system. His reasoning is certainly most impressive; yet it is probable that many British and European scholars will hesitate to follow him all the way. Thus, N. H. Snaith, writing on p 94 of OT & Mod Stud, says, "The Song of Deborah is one of the oldest Hebrew poems, and is at least as old as the 12th century. Its genius is truly Canaanite and the style is closely similar to that of some of the Ras Shamra texts...The same style is to be found in Jotham's parable of the trees (Jd 9 v 8-15), another very ancient piece." But he carefully refrains from any statement about the other songs noticed by Albright. It is true that these lie outside the scope of his

essay; yet one has the feeling that his silence is significant. And it seems not impossible that Albright has in fact merely provided a terminus a quo. His own words suggest this. He says (Arch.Pal.232), "We now know that it (the climactic parallelism) was most popular in Israelite literature during the 13th and 12th centuries B.C., and that it rapidly lost ground thereafter, being abandoned entirely by the 10th century, except where older Canaanite poems were adapted to Israelite purposes and where single poetic passages or lines were re-used in archaizing verse."

This statement seems to leave the door ajar for the exception that proves the rule. One cannot quite exclude the possibility that some districts in Israel lagged behind others in literary fashions, or that some late poet deliberately copied the heroic style of the past, as we know Virgil imitated Homer. Only an Ugaritic expert would be qualified to pronounce judgement on this point; but if the objection is a valid one, it means that the resemblance of a Hebrew poem to Ugaritic literature may not always constitute final proof of its antiquity. It may be urged that there is a world of difference between the Iliad and the Aeneid: but a good part, at least, of this difference is due to the fact that the Greek hexameter runs more lightly than its more ponderous Latin daughter. The difficulty which Virgil faced - and conquered - in adapting a foreign metre to his native language would be negligible for a Hebrew poet who copied Ugaritic models, because Hebrew and Ugaritic were closely cognate. Still, it might be argued that any qualified philologist could distinguish an early Hebrew poem in the Ugaritic style from a late archaizing one. The writer is not competent to discuss this point; but it cannot be denied that scholars have often enough been divided on philological questions. Perhaps one may hazard the opinion that the resemblance of a Hebrew poem to Ugaritic poetry creates a strong possibility that it is early, but does not quite prove it.

Coming to the modern German school, both Alt (Kl.Schr.I 256) and Noth (GI 61), so far as the writer is aware, discuss the date of the battle of Megiddo rather than that of the Song of Deborah. They use the evidence of the song as if it were contemporary or at least very old. In his "Geschichte Israels", Noth contents himself with describing the song as "one of the oldest pieces which we possess in the OT". Noth's words seem to sum up very accurately the present extent of our knowledge about the date of the Song of Deborah. For the evidence reviewed above is all indirect; and much of it is subjective. Moore lays stress on the fact that the song is full of precise detail; but so is the story of Noah's ark, which we know to be based on much older Mesopotamian models. Such detail may indicate no more than the fact that these ancient authors were good story-tellers. If the writer may add one more subjective argument to the pile, the phrase "In the days of Jael" (v 6) sounds as if the battle lay remote in time from the poet. But this phrase may possibly be a late gloss; and Shamgar, who is mentioned immediately before it, may have lived in a period before the battle.

The writer's own suggestion (which is very far from being a dogmatic assertion) is that down at least to the age of Solomon, and possibly long after, Hebrew poetry was as much a communal product as an individual one. The Semitic races seem to have been like the Welsh, a breed of people in whom song and verse were inborn, especially among the wandering tents. Every shepherd had in him not only philosophy, but poetic genius. Such is the modern desert-Arab, and such, surely, were the ancient Israelites. Some Greek scholars have conjectured that

the Homeric minstrels had a kind of literary stock-pot, into which all freely dipped, and to which all contributed. If ancient Israel possessed a similar stock-pot, this would perfectly explain the amazing fluidity of OT tradition. Modern Arab story-tellers, re-telling the age-old tales of the "Arabian Nights", put their own stamp on them, and never tell the same story twice in exactly the same way. Always there tends to be an element of improvisation. These phenomena are exactly paralleled in the realm of folk-music. There we find the same parallels, variants, and complex mutual relationships, that have bewildered students of OT literature, and have produced such a tropical growth of diverse theories. The writer believes that such a poem as the Song of Deborah may indeed have been first conceived by some outstanding genius immediately after the battle which it celebrated, but continued to be shaped and modified by generations of singers, who composed as they sang. How much this shaping may contribute to the final result, may be seen from a musical illustration. There could be no greater difference than that between the gay, lilting rhythms of the old English dance-tune, Sellinger's Round, and the stately march of the old German chorale which we sing on Palm Sunday to the words "All glory, laud, and honour." Yet a comparison of the two at once reveals the fact that despite all superficial difference they are fundamentally the same tune. Whence, then, came that difference? It can hardly have been the work of the composer of the original tune from which both are descended. It must surely have been the fruit of that mysterious process to which we refer the musician when we label a tune "traditional".

That is perhaps all that we can do with the Song of Deborah and the other ancient Hebrew poems: to label them traditional, and to ascribe their composition, not to a precise date, but to a time-range. In the case of Sellinger's Round the time-range is comparatively narrow. It must have been composed before 1600, since William Byrd wrote a set of variations upon it; and its tonality, with its well-marked modulation from tonic to dominant and back to tonic, makes any date before 1500 improbable. For the Song of Deborah, the time-range will extend roughly from the Battle of Megiddo (whenever that was) to the compilation of the song-book from which the compilers of Judges appear to have taken it. Since the Lament for Saul appears to have been taken from the same or a similar song-book, it seems unlikely that such compilations came into existence much earlier than the age of David and Solomon. But if we accept the documentary theory in any of its many variants, we shall probably date the compilation of the main sources (oral or written) which were later conflated to form, more or less, the extant historical books of the OT, not later than the age of Josiah. The many corruptions in the texts of the Song of Deborah and the Lament for Saul will then incline us to date the manuscripts from which they were probably taken, some considerable time backwards from Josiah. But those manuscripts were not necessarily "first editions". Hence, these song-books are likely to have been compiled somewhere between the accession of David and the middle of the divided Kingdom. But they were probably essentially antiquarian compilations, made because the songs themselves were no longer a living tradition. Students of folk-song in modern Europe have remarked that there is such a thing as present-day folk-song; but it is not recognised as such, because it belongs to the present. The urge to make these compilations would probably not be felt by the Israelite compilers until the songs had ceased to be sung. Hence, if the compilations were made somewhere between the age of David and, say, that of Ahab, the songs themselves must have been a living tradition somewhat earlier: that is, during the united Monarchy or the early generations of the divided Monarchy.

Strictly speaking, these arguments only apply to those songs which we know to have been taken from ancient compilations: the Lament for Saul (2 S 1 v 18f), the fragment in Jsh 10 v 12c, 13, both from the Book of Jashar, and the fragment in Nm 21 v 14b, 15, from the Book of the Wars of Yahweh. But other ancient songs in the OT may also be from these or similar sources.

A living tradition not only preserves the past: it absorbs the present. If the Song of Deborah represents such a tradition, as the writer believes it does, then it may reflect the environment within which it was preserved, at any period between the date of its first composition and that of its inclusion in the old Israelite song-books: that is, probably from the late Judges to the earlier periods of the divided Monarchy. Fortunately for the purposes of the present study, the conservative nature of tradition, especially of ancient oriental tradition, makes it probable that in the Song of Deborah the environment of the late period of the Judges predominates, and has mainly shaped the poem. It is therefore probable that considerable reliance can be placed upon its witness for the second half of the period of the Judges.

This conclusion is supported by the fact that the poem totally ignores Judah, although it describes a battle fought by Israel with the help of the God of Israel. It might, of course, be argued that a comment on the absence of Judah, similar to that upon Reuben, has been suppressed by later Judaeans compilers. But the argument does not sound very convincing. The provenance of the poem is clearly northern. And this affords a clue to the period when this and similar poems may have been collected and published. We have already noticed that one of these compilations - the Book of Jashar - contained the Lament for Saul. Here the pro-northern viewpoint is positively startling. The Saul of the prose sagas is a half-mad being, cruel and treacherous, whose popularity steadily declines as that of David increases, and whose insane jealousy of David at length drives his own son Jonathan to rebel against him. Of this portrait there is in the Lament not one trace. The Saul of the Lament is every inch a hero, noble and generous, beloved of his people, not only in his earlier career, but up to and beyond his death. And far from being alienated from his son, he is united to him in the closest bonds of affection, so that the poet can exclaim in rapture, "Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided." It is really a *curse* for wonder that no one has devised a theory that there were two different Sauls!

Thus, we have in the historical books of the OT two ancient poems of northern provenance; and since the fable of the trees mentions the cedars of Lebanon and appears in a context of events in and around Shechem, it may be that it, too, is of northern origin. Thus, some, at least, of the old song-books were probably productions of the northern kingdom. Since they included the Lament for Saul, ~~the~~ these books must belong to some period after his death; and probably not immediately after, but some considerable number of years later. As we have seen, tradition and local patriotism would keep alive for a long time such a song as the Lament for Saul. The need to record it in a book to preserve it from oblivion would hardly arise until long after the accession of David. But during the reigns of David and Solomon, patriotic northern ballads would be about as popular in official and priestly circles at Jerusalem as Jacobite airs at the court of George III. (The ascription of the Lament to David surely belongs to the imaginings of later piety.) And however much the pro-Judah historians of the OT may have magnified the reign of Solomon, it was no golden age for the proud, independent men of the north, as the sequel showed. Jeroboam I took his stand on "the old

religion" (1 K 12 v 28); and he was certainly popular with his subjects, since even the prejudiced OT historian admits that "all Israel mourned for" the untimely death of his infant son (1 K 14 v 18). There can be little doubt that his reign witnessed a great up-surge of enthusiastic patriotism among his subjects. They were free of the crushing taxes and forced labour imposed by Solomon; and at last they had a king of their own. This must have seemed to them only fitting, since the first king of Israel had been a northerner. The old songs of Saul and of the northern heroes before him were probably sung by Jeroboam's subjects as they had ~~never~~ been sung before; and psychological considerations suggest that it was probably the fervent desire of every patriotic northerner to blot out the memory of all that had happened since the death of Saul, and to start again from that point. This surge of national feeling would leave its indelible stamp upon the old ballads. And it must be remembered that the figure of Saul closes the period of the Judges. David laid the foundations of a new era: Saul probably based his power on the old tribal system and the old tribal loyalties, which he focussed upon himself. The popular songs would extol the glories of that system.

The old northern songs, therefore, were probably sung by Jeroboam's people to celebrate the return of that heroic era which previously seemed to have perished with the death of Saul. If they were written down to help the younger folk to learn and sing them, then the reign of Jeroboam I is the obvious one in which to date the first publication of the northern song-books. But it is perhaps more likely that their publication came later, when the glories of the northern kingdom were dimmed, either by a change of dynasty, or more probably by the growing menace of Syria. New generations arose that forgot both Saul and Jeroboam. New problems filled their minds. It was then, perhaps, that scribes, in love with the glorious past, compiled their song-books with loving care, hoping for a brighter day when men would ~~again~~ have the heart to sing the old songs. Since Ahab and his subjects seem to have faced their war with Syria in full confidence (1 K 22), and since the king's death in battle robbed Israel of the fruits of victory (even had victory been possible), it may have been his death that caused the shadows to deepen in the north, and the scribes who had grown old in his service to collect the old~~x~~ songs before it was too late to do so.

These arguments find support in a very striking verbal coincidence. The OT historian tells us that Zedekiah, one of Ahab's prophets, expressed that military confidence to which reference has been made, by wearing iron horns and performing a horn-dance before the king, singing as he danced, "Thus saith Yahweh: With these ~~shalt~~ thou push the Syrians, until thou have consumed them." And in the Blessing of Moses, Dt 33 v 17, in what looks very much like a late addition to the blessing of Joseph, we read, "His glory is like the firstling of his bullock, and his horns are like the horns of unicorns: with them he shall push the people together to the ends of the earth." This resemblance can scarcely be accidental. It seems to establish a strong probability that this verse of the Blessing of Moses was added during the reign of Ahab; or even that the main structure of the song dates from his reign, and is a war-song against the Syrians. The word "seems" must be stressed: the song could equally well be a victory-ode of Jeroboam II. At least, the verbal resemblance suggests for Dt 33 v 17 a northern origin somewhere within or just after the long period of the Syrian War.

Accompanying the Song of Deborah and the Lament for Saul are prose narratives of the events described in the songs. In their extant forms these narratives are

generally admitted to be much later than the poems. Yet they can hardly have been composed in ~~order~~ order to provide the poems with commentaries and explanations, because they contradict the poems in various ways. The discrepancies between the Lament for Saul and the prose sagas of Saul and David have already been mentioned. Similar discrepancies exist between the prose and poetic accounts of the Battle of Megiddo, Jd 4 & 5. They are summarised by Burney on p 70-80 of his "Judges". Briefly, (1) In Jd 4 Sisera is the captain of Jabin's host: in Jd 5 he is king. (2) Jd 4 links Deborah with the Bethel area, far south of the battlefield: Jd 5 links her with Issachar. (3) In Jd 4, only two tribes fight: in Jd 5, six tribes. (4) In Jd 4, Jael invites the fugitive Sisera into her tent and kills him in his sleep, thus violating the sacred law of hospitality: in Jd 5 she kills him, presumably outside the tent, as he stoops to drink a bowl of curds.

It will be noticed that the two portraits of Jael differ in much the same way as do the two portraits of Saul in the Lament and the prose sagas. By ancient standards, the killing of Sisera as related in the poem is a clean and heroic act, which inspires the poet to praise Jael in enthusiastic terms. In the prose saga it is a foul murder. Significantly, the prose author says not a word in praise of Jael. He merely remarks that in this way "God subdued on that day" - not Sisera, but "Jabin the king of Canaan". Clearly Jd 4 follows a different tradition from that of Jd 5. It is much less favourable to Jael: it removes Deborah far to the south: and, most significant of all, it appears to mix unrelated traditions, both in confusing the fight against Sisera with a different campaign against Jabin, and in associating Deborah with the tree-sanctuary near Bethel, whereas in Gn 35 v 8 this sanctuary is associated with another Deborah, who is said to have been Rebekah's nurse.

The Song of Miriam also appears to be at variance with its accompanying saga. In its opening verse, which all critics (so far as the writer knows) accept as an ancient relic, Miriam sings that Yahweh has thrown the horse and his rider into the sea. This suggests a pursuit on horseback along a precarious ledge high above the sea, during which the pursuers lost their footing and rolled down into the sea: a very different picture from that of the Egyptian chariots crossing a ford uncovered by a strong wind, and then being caught by the returning waters, of which we read in the prose saga.

If, then, in each of these cases the poem and its accompanying prose saga represent two independent traditions, the points of agreement between them will have an enhanced evidential value; while the recognition that their traditions are mutually independent may help to disentangle their evidence at points where it is in conflict. At the same time, in a choice between the witness of a poem and that of a parallel prose saga, the poem, being the older of the two, will normally deserve preference. Applying these rules to the Song of Deborah, one would probably conclude that, in the prose version, the confusing presence of Jabin and the statement that only two tribes, Naphtali and Zebulun, assembled at Kedesh-Naphtali to fight him, are to be taken together, and that it was in truth this group of two tribes that fought Jabin - but at Hazor, not at Megiddo. In this case, Tabor is surely out of the picture so far as the fight with Jabin is concerned. Noth (GI 76) suggests that whereas Joseph expanded from central Palestine northwards, Naphtali probably entered their territory from NE Transjordan at or near Kedesh. The facts of geography strongly support Noth's theory. For as the crow flies, Kedesh-Naphtali is forty miles from Megiddo, thirty from Mount Tabor, and barely four from Hazor. And it lies on the north side of Hazor. The picture in Jsh 11 of a gigantic

combined operation against Hazor, followed by the capture of every town for miles round, must surely give place to one of an exploit similar to Dan's capture of Laish: a purely localised, small-scale victory.

The structure and content of the prose narrative in Jd 4 will be discussed later. The song itself shows traces of complex structure. At v 12 ("Awake, awake, Deborah" etc) it appears to make a fresh start, as if it were a conflation of two songs, originally separate; and this possibility is supported by v 1, which reads, "Then sang Deborah and Barak." If two songs have in fact been conflated, they appear to be intertwined, since v 12 (quoted above), the opening verse of Deborah's song, is immediately followed, in v 13, by a statement that seems to refer to the eventual outcome of the battle. The text, all the way from v 8 to v 15, is hopelessly corrupt, so that no weight can be put on these arguments. If the ~~AV~~ AV is any guide to the meaning, v 13 suggests that "him that remaineth" means the victor, Barak, who became president of the league on the strength of his victory. But Oesterley (AHP 45) translates this verse, "Then nobly did Israel march forth: Yahweh's people marched forth like heroes." More significant, perhaps, is the fact that (excluding v 2, which Burney, in "Judges", 1918, p xl, regards as the song-book title) the name Israel occurs seven times before v 12, and not once after it. But in view of the corruption of the text, the writer does not press this suggestion of a conflation of two songs, and will not build upon it in the following chapters.

Chapter 2. THE OMISSION OF JUDAH.

In the Song of Deborah the poet lists the tribes who were present or absent at the Battle of Megiddo. (Jd 5 v 14-18.) The list is as follows:-

PRESENT: Ephraim, Benjamin, "Machir", Zebulun, Issachar, Naphtali.
 ABSENT: Reuben, "Gilead", Dan, Asher.
 NOT MENTIONED: Simeon, Levi, Judah.

At once our attention is drawn by the three names omitted: Simeon, Levi, and Judah. The omission of Levi causes no surprise, since the OT traditions in general agree that it was a landless tribe. Levi is a special mystery; but its omission from the Song of Deborah does not add to the mystery. Simeon, according to Jsh 19 v 9, was absorbed into Judah, so that the reason for Judah's omission, whatever it may have been, will cover Simeon's omission also. The real problem is the omission of Judah. On this problem, those OT critics whose works the writer has been able to consult say surprisingly little. Indeed, the only comments that the writer has been able to find are those in the commentaries of Moore and Burney on Judges. Burney (p 4,46,47,49) suggests that Simeon and Judah had invaded the Negeb from the south, and settled there after Simeon and Levi had been decimated in a premature attempt to capture Shechem. Consequently these tribes were too isolated and remote to be expected to take part in the Battle of Megiddo. Moore (p 134n) says, "It is very significant that Judah is not named at all (in Jd 5). It is difficult to avoid the inference that the poet did not count it among the tribes of Israel. It was originally a small tribe, which grew into importance by union with clans of different stock (Caleb, etc.), and it was separated from Joseph by a Canaanite belt; but these things hardly account ~~for~~ for its absence from the song. Simeon and Levi are also wanting; Reuben is the only one of the older, southern group of Leah-tribes that is named." The underlinings are the present writer's. He believes that Moore's view is justified, for the reasons discussed below.

The first of these is the fact, to which Moore draws attention, that the battle was an amphictyonic one. "When Israel is arrayed in arms against Canaan, every tribe and clan is bound to come to the support of Yahweh." (Op.cit.134.) In "Das System" etc, p 65,100, Noth stresses the importance for the historian of the occasional sacred wars of the Israelite League, as being almost the only amphictyonic events recorded in the OT, and therefore the clearest examples of the working of Israel's tribal system. The particular sacred war which Noth cites is the one fought against Gibeah for its refusal to punish an outrage committed by some of its citizens. (Jd 19,20.) The OT historian states that the tribes were called out by sending to them the twelve dismembered pieces of the victim of the outrage, and that "all the children of Israel went out, and the congregation was gathered together as one man, from Dan even to Beersheba, with the land of Gilead, unto Yahweh in Mizpeh." (Jd 20 v 1.) War was declared against Benjamin, and Judah (v 18) was chosen by lot to attack first. In Jd 21 v 8-10 a roll is called, "and they said, What one is there of the tribes of Israel that came not up to Mizpeh to Yahweh? And behold, there came none to the camp from Jabesh-Gilead to the assembly." Accordingly, a force of soldiers was sent to massacre the people of Jabesh-Gilead.

Taken at its face-value, this narrative is certainly at variance with the Song of Deborah. This time, twelve tribes seem to be called, "from Dan to Beersheba",

and Judah is very much in the picture. But it is questionable how far we can trust the details of this story. The conversation between the host and the men in the street (Jd 19 v 22-24) has close verbal connections with that between Lot and the men of Sodom in Gn 19 v 5-8. And the course of the battle: the initial reverse suffered by the attackers, and the ruse by which the defenders are lured out from the city and the latter is then set on fire (Jd 21 v 29f), are closely parallel to the account in Jsh 8 v 9f of the taking of Ai. But the archaeologists have established that Ai was destroyed many centuries before the settlement of Israel in Palestine, and was not again occupied save for a small, unfortified Benjamite village of Iron Age date. And whatever basis the story of Sodom may have, it surely contains a large admixture of free composition. The story of the sacred war with Gibeah is therefore in doubtful company. And in Jd 21 v 19f we find this story joined to another which is the OT equivalent of the rape of the Sabine women in the opening book of Livy's history of Rome; a story which in fact appears to have a cultic ~~mythical~~ origin. We are, in short, groping in a misty historical twilight, in which it is very difficult to be sure of one's facts. In broad outline, the story of the outrage at Gibeah and its punishment may well be based on historical facts. But what facts?

The story relates that Judah led the attack on Gibeah, and that the victim's husband was a Levite from Bethlehem-Judah. But did Bethlehem belong to Judah in the days of the Judges? Was it not then either an independent Canaanite city, or a Canaanite city which had become absorbed, not into Judah, but into Benjamin? In a later chapter, evidence (in 1 S 30 v 26f) will be examined which suggests that even on the eve of David's coronation at Hebron, Judah extended no farther north than that city. It could, however, be argued that at that period Judah, like Israel, had been robbed by the Philistines of a large slice of its territory. And the strong OT tradition (Micah 5 v 2) that Bethlehem was David's birthplace certainly suggests that it had already belonged to Judah before his coronation. But there is also evidence (to be examined later) that certain places south of Jericho, associated with the tribe of Reuben, belonged first to Benjamin and afterwards to Judah. And in Jsh 15 v 63 we read that Judah could not conquer Jerusalem, while in Jd 1 v 21 the same statement is made of Benjamin. Again, in 1 K 12 v 20 we read that when the kingdom split at Rehoboam's accession, only Judah was loyal to him; and in the very next verse we read that Benjamin also supported him. Benjamin and Judah are also closely linked in Ps 68 v 27. All this evidence suggests that northern Judah and southern Benjamin were analogous to the "Debateable Lands" north of Carlisle in the periods before the union of the crowns of England and Scotland. And since the earliest Benjamite settlements seem to have lain much nearer to Jerusalem and Bethlehem than the earliest Judahite ones, it seems probable that Bethlehem was absorbed into Benjamin before Judah laid claim to it. It must be admitted that this theory introduces a fresh difficulty into the story of the Gibeah outrage. Did the tribe of Benjamin support one Benjamite city against another? Yet the value of the evidence quoted in this paragraph is surely as good as that of the details in the Gibeah story. The OT does not give any clear indication of the history of Bethlehem, in its transition from the status of a Canaanite city to that of a Judahite one. We do, however, read in Jd 1 ~~ma~~ that the Israelites were unable to conquer certain Canaanite cities, but "dwelt among them". One visualises a process of slow, peaceful penetration and absorption, which might well leave little mark on the pages of history because it involved no dramatic wars and conquests.

In this connection, perhaps the most striking evidence of all is that provided by the aetiological story of Rachel's Grave in Gn 35 v 19,20, an ancient landmark near Bethlehem. In Gn 31 v 45

near Bethlehem. In Gn 31 v 45f we read that Jacob and Laban erected such a pillar as a mutual boundary-mark which they agreed not to pass with belligerent intent. Rachel's Grave may have been an ancient boundary-mark of the Rachel group. This is not inconsistent with the fact that it may also have been of Chalcolithic origin. (6000-4500 B.C.) Ancient pre-Israelite stones might naturally acquire sacral associations which would enhance their value as boundary-marks, since those who used them for this purpose would feel that their presiding deities would punish trespassers. No trace of such a usage is discernible in Gn 35 v 19,20; but this may easily mean that the usage was so old that it had been forgotten. It would very naturally be forgotten if Bethlehem had once belonged to Benjamin and had then been absorbed into Judah. Disused frontiers are easily forgotten, save by antiquarians. How many modern Britons are aware that the Firth of Forth was once the boundary of Scotland?

It would appear, then, that the main arguments in favour of the assumption that Bethlehem had belonged to Judah at an early date are its associations with David and its appearance in the Gibeah story. Both Burney and Moore cast strong doubts on the historicity of the latter - at least, in many of its details. Burney (Jd, 447) comments on the suspicious coincidence that Gibeah was the birth-place of Saul, and Jabesh-Gilead, which sent no contingent to the punitive war, was the town which Saul befriended. As Burney remarks, an anti-Saul motive is not far to seek, as constituting the entire reason for the appearance of the story in its present form. On the other hand, the Gibeah story and the Dan story which precedes it (Jd 18) together constitute a self-contained part of Judges which begins and ends with the statement that in those days there was no king in Israel and everyone did what he liked. (Jd 18 v 1; 21 v 25.) In view of these facts, Buber ("Königthum Gottes") regards Jd 1-16 as anti-royalist and Jd 17-21 as pro-royalist. But however reasonably this moral may be drawn from Jd 18, it seems singularly inappropriate to the Gibeah-story. If this story is true, it means that the Israelite league in the days of the Judges did not let crime go unpunished, but had machinery for keeping order and were prepared to use it. The story in itself really seems to be no more pro-monarchic, or for that matter anti-monarchic, than the Song of Deborah. To the writer, at least, it seems rather pro-northern: a story which the men of the north might naturally treasure in their memories, along with the tales of Barak, Gideon, and Saul, as demonstrating that the northern kingdom, before and after the advent of Saul, had been capable of keeping law and order within her borders and repelling invaders, without the assistance of Judah. If Dt 33 be essentially a northern compilation (a point to be discussed later), then its declaration in v 28 that with Yahweh's help Israel would dwell in safety alone, may well mean that the northern kingdom was determined to maintain its independence of the south. Thus, the extant narrative in Jd 19-21 appears to be a tale of the heroic past, which in its original form was remembered by northern patriots for the same reason that they remembered the Lament for Saul and the Song of Deborah, neither from pro-royalist nor from anti-royalist motives, but simply out of pride in their own nation's past. Certainly, the Book of Judges in general seems more concerned with the north than with the south. But inasmuch as southern traditions appear in Jd 1, the extant book has apparently passed through the hands of Judahite redactors: and they may well have edited the Gibeah story in the interests of Judah. For them, of course, Bethlehem was a city of Judah, and had long been so. It would therefore seem natural to them that Judah should take the lead in punishing an outrage committed by men of Gibeah against a citizen of Bethlehem.

The extant story of Gibeah certainly seems to be in a tangled condition; but the

tangle becomes easier to understand when we remember that there were two parties who were antagonistic to the northern kings: namely, the men of Judah, and the prophets of the north. The writer would suggest that in the first instance it was the latter who preserved and published the anti-monarchic traditions in Judges and 1,2 Samuel, and that afterwards Judahite redactors were glad to use these traditions and underline their moral, taking care that the resultant narratives should redound to the glory of Judah and the reproach of the northern kings.

In any case, the story of Gibeah in Jd 19-21 seems a precarious foundation for Noth's belief (System, 62,63,109) that the league of Israel under the Judges included Judah, and was united in a twelve-tribe system from the time of Joshua. Noth argues that the orthodox view of the disunity of Israel under the Judges turns the sudden unity under Saul into an insoluble riddle. Whence came that unity, he asks, if it was not the continuance of a close-knit tribal system under the Judges? In his view the Philistine menace is not an adequate explanation, since it hardly affected Transjordan or Galilee; and they were parts of Saul's kingdom. But here Noth appears to overlook the statement in 2 S 3 v 17-19: "And Abner had communication with the elders of Israel, saying, Ye sought for David in times past to be king over you: now then do it...And Abner also spake in the ears of Benjamin. Abner was a born diplomat. Not until he had secured the co-operation of "Israel" did he approach Benjamin. Does not this suggest that Benjamin was the original core of Saul's kingdom, as Judah was the original core of David's kingdom? In that case, the unity of Saul's kingdom would appear to have been built up by Saul ~~himself~~ himself; and 1 S 11 shows that Saul won the support of the men of Gilead by aiding them, not against the Philistines, but against Ammon. Noth's argument about the Philistine menace therefore appears invalid, so far as Gilead was concerned. And as regards Galilee, the Philistine destruction of Shiloh must have brought the danger uncomfortably near to their own territory. They had good cause to welcome the rise of Saul and to give him their support. History is full of examples of strong military leaders who have succeeded in welding together previously disunited elements. The Song of Deborah shows that under the Judges a crisis could evoke a considerable degree of unity; but the story of Saul hardly compels us to believe that before his day that unity must already have been complete. And apart from the Gibeah story, the Song of Deborah marks the high tide of unity within the pages of Judges. The sagas of Ehud, Gideon, and Jephthah tell a very different story.

Noth also recalls the fact that in 1 S 15 Saul is assisted by the men of Judah in his campaign against Amalek. Without their help, says Noth, Saul could not have won the battle. Unfortunately for Noth's case, this story, like the Gibeah story, is difficult to accept in its extant form. It appears to have a literary connection with Nm 25 v 17-19, which is apparently based on an old tradition of a blood-feud against Amalek. But the connection may owe as much to the conceptions of the compilers of 1, 2 Samuel as it does to historical fact. In 1 Chr 5 we read that the men of Gilead repelled an invasion of desert raiders, described as Hagarites. In Jd 6 similar invaders are described both as "Midian" and more fully as "the Midianites and the Amalekites and the children of the east", and later in the same saga (Jd 8 v 24) as Ishmaelites. Apparently such raiders were not always easy to identify. The Chronicler (1 Chr 5 v 20) states that the men of Gilead were helped against the Hagarites. In 1 S 11 Saul helps Gilead against the Ammonites. Did he perhaps also help the men of Gilead against the "Hagarites"; and are 1 Chr 5 and 1 S 15 based on different versions of the same tradition? Such a campaign seems more feasible than one in SW Palestine, which would have put the dreaded Philistines

in the rear between Saul's army and home.

Smith (ICC Samuel 130,131) says of this story, "The historicity of the incident is open to grave doubts. Saul's kingdom was over Benjamin, and there he had all he could do to keep back the Philistine attack. Judah was separated from him by the ~~Sinai~~ Jebusite fortress, and its loyalty could never have been very warm. The claim on Amalek was outlawed by some centuries. (Smith's meaning here is not clear to the present writer.) So far from this people being exterminated by Saul, they were engaged in active feud with David very soon after this supposed attack by Saul. Finally, no trace of this attack has survived in any passage of the Old Testament except the one before us."

Despite the apparent connection with Dt 25 v 17f, therefore, this story of Saul's raid on Amalek seems apocryphal; and here also Noth's case appears to rest on a doubtful foundation, so far as his inclusion of Judah in Saul's kingdom is concerned. But his main contention (System, 61-63), that Saul's kingdom was based on the tribal league of the previous period, is amply confirmed by the witness of the Song of Deborah and the Lament for Saul. A few quotations will suffice to prove this: from the Song of Deborah, "Yahweh, God of Israel", "Deborah,...a mother in Israel", "Was there a shield or spear seen among forty thousand in Israel?", "The governors of Israel": and from the Lament, "The beauty (gazelle?) of Israel is slain", "Ye daughters of Israel, weep over Saul." So far, Noth is surely right.

But did Judah belong to Israel? The OT evidence seems to suggest that it did not, even in the earlier years of David. In 2 S 2 we learn that immediately after the death of Saul, David went to Hebron, "and the men of Judah came, and there they anointed David king over the house of Judah." (v 4a.) David at once sent overtures to the men of Jabesh-Gilead, who had buried Saul; "But Abner,...captain of Saul's host, took Ish-bosheth the son of Saul, and brought him over to Mahanaim; and made him king over Gilead, and over the Ashurites, and over Jezreel, and over Ephraim, and over Benjamin, and over all Israel. Ish-bosheth Saul's son was forty years old when he began to reign over Israel, and reigned two years. But the house of Judah followed David. And the time that David was king in Hebron over the house of Judah was seven years and six months." (2 S 2 v 8-11.)

This passage gives one the impression of being a sober, truthful account. If it is, its witness is surely decisive. It seems clear that in the account (v 9) of Ishbaal's kingdom (to give him what is evidently his rightful name), the final words, "and over all Israel", are meant to sum up what has gone before. "All Israel", therefore, included the five areas previously named in the same verse, namely Gilead, Ashur, Jezreel, Ephraim, and Benjamin. The fact that three of these are not names which appear in the later OT lists of the twelve tribes of Israel, strongly supports their reliability, especially when we remember that the Song of Deborah also names Gilead as one of the tribes of Israel, a fact further confirmed by such place-names as Jabesh-Gilead and Ramoth-Gilead. These names remind us of Bethlehem-Judah, Kedesh-Naphtali, etc., in which also the second element is a tribal name.

The precise meaning of the names Ashur and Jezreel is a vital topic which will need to be considered later, in connection with the history of the Galilaean tribes. For the moment we note that Ish-baal's kingdom included "all Israel", but excluded Judah, over which David was then king. Verse 11, quoted above, puts that beyond

doubt. Ish-baal reigned over Israel and David over Judah, exactly as, at a later period, Jeroboam reigned over Israel and Rehoboam over Judah. Hence, it would appear that what really happened under Rehoboam was not the splitting of one ~~the~~ kingdom into two, but the falling apart of two kingdoms that had been precariously united during the later years of David's reign and the whole of Solomon's. Judah, it would seem, never was a part of Israel, any more than Scotland has ever been a part of England.

This conclusion is confirmed by 2 S 3 v 17-19, to which reference was made above. Abner, on David's behalf, negotiated separately with "Israel" and Benjamin. This confirms Smith's statement, quoted above, that "Saul's kingdom was over Benjamin". Saul apparently rose to power as the charismatic leader of the Benjamite army, who won his spurs in defending Jabesh-Gilead against the Ammonites, and putting these to flight. That the men of Jabesh-Gilead remembered this gratefully is shown by the way in which they rescued Saul's body from the Philistines and gave it honourable burial. The Lament shows that all Israel mourned Saul's death. Apparently, then, Saul was officially king of Benjamin, but managed by his merits and military successes to win the loyalty of Israel in general. But the evidence that has been discussed above surely suggests that this "Israel" excluded Judah.

The Book of Amos opens with a series of doom-songs, including the dooms of Judah and Israel. Harper (ICC Amos 44) cites, but also questions, the verdict of many of the older critics, that the Judah-song in this series is a late insertion, and that for the compiler of the Book of Amos "Israel" was a term which included Judah, just as so many people loosely use the name "England" to include Britain in general. This is an important point; but it need not invalidate the argument here advanced, since Amos belongs to the later Monarchy. Such a usage of the term "Israel" might well have become current during the united Monarchy, without having been ~~usual~~ customary in earlier periods. One may question whether the usage of "England" to mean "Britain" would ever have become customary, had Wales and Scotland continued to possess sovereigns of their own. It is probably safe to say that most people who thus misuse the term "England" will yet take care to distinguish Eire from Northern Ireland.

Further proof of the writer's contention that Judah was never really a part of Israel seems evident in the battle-cry with which Israel under Jeroboam I seceded from Judah:- (1 K 12 v 16b.)

What portion have we in David?
Neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse.
To your tents, O Israel!
Now see to thine own house, David!

In 2 S 20 v 1, Sheba the Benjamite raises an abortive revolt against David in almost the same words. All through 2 S 20 and the previous chapters of 2nd Samuel we find David at war with "Israel" - that is, with Saul's kingdom, which we may surely equate approximately with the northern kingdom of the Divided Monarchy. It is true that in 1 S 30 v 26f we learn that David, before his coronation at Hebron, sent gifts of booty to his friends "the elders of Judah", in a number of localities, including "Bethel". But Smith (ICC Samuel 250) follows Wellhausen in identifying this place with "Bethuel", mentioned in 1 Chr 4 v 30 along with Hormah and Ziklag. Smith remarks that none of the places listed lies north of Hebron. And

we know that not until late in his career was David able to conquer the Jebusite city of Jerusalem and make it his capital. Unless Judah had previously extended north and had then lost ground to the Philistines, it would seem that until that late date the wide Canaanite belt still stretched between Judah and Benjamin. Albright (Arch.Pal.114) states that the typical Philistine ware is abundant in the Negeb and Shephelah between c 1150 B.C. and the late 11th century, extending as far as Bethzur. If Judah did win ground towards the NW and lose it again, this must have happened before 1150 B.C., the date of the fall of Shiloh. The evidence examined above hardly permits of a conclusion in this matter; but in any case the independence of Jebusite Jerusalem until David captured it, plus the persistent loyalty to David of the men of Judah, together make it seem unlikely that Saul was able to include Judah within his dominions.

The general trend of the evidence ~~revised~~ reviewed in this chapter suggests that Judah, though doubtless closely akin to Israel in race, culture, language, and religion, was really a separate kingdom of independent origin. This conclusion is supported by the fact, generally recognised by critics, that the southern traditions in Jd 1 are a late addition to Judges, and are a corpus of separate tradition. They speak of local immigrations into the south, made independently of similar movements farther north. These traditions will be examined more closely later. Meanwhile we may perhaps provisionally conclude that the Song of Deborah omits the name of Judah because Judah did not belong to the Israelite League.

Chapter 3. REUBEN AND GAD.

Reuben is one of the elusive tribes of Israel. It is mentioned only once in Judges, namely in the Song of Deborah (Jd 5 v 15-17), where it is sternly reprov'd for its absence from the battle of Megiddo. Traditionally it was the firstborn of Israel; and this tradition accords with the tone of the reproof, as if Reuben, of all the tribes, should have set an example. One would naturally expect to hear more of such an important tribe. But after this notice in Jd 5 it vanishes, and is not again heard of until 2 K 10 v 33, where we learn that during the Syrian War Hazael overran "all the coasts of Israel, from Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer, which is by the river Arnon, even Gilead and Bashan." These are stereotyped formulae occurring also in the Hexateuch, which also locates Reuben in Transjordan. But this evidence is not in harmony with Jd 5, which, after reprov'g Reuben, says (v 17) "Gilead abode beyond Jordan", implying that the land of Reuben was not beyond Jordan, and that the Reubenites did not mingle with the Gadites in Gilead.

It is also surprising that the Song of Deborah seems unaware of the tradition in Gn 35 v 21,22, Gn 49 v 4, and 1 Chr 5 v 1, which speaks of Reuben as falling into disrepute for some criminal act. The poet seems genuinely surprised that Reuben should have acted basely. And yet another problem created by this notice in Jd 5 is the non-mention of Reuben in the Ehud-saga in Jd 3. Evidence will shortly be presented which suggests that Reuben did once live west of Jordan, in the area immediately south of Jericho. The defeat of Moab described in Jd 3 v 28,29 is located at "the fords of Jordan toward Moab", where Ehud's army cut off the Moabites' retreat and slaughtered them as they attempted to cross the Jordan. This is the very locality in which Reuben may have lived in the days of Sisera. One would therefore naturally expect to learn that in this battle, ~~the firstborn~~ of all battles, Reuben would be especially involved. If they were present at the battle, why does Jd 3 not say so; and if they were absent, why are they not reprov'd?

This question of the location of Reuben is tied up with the general problem of the settlement in Palestine. Some scholars accept the orthodox pentateuchal view that all or at least most of the tribes quitted Egypt and entered Palestine ~~to~~ together under the successive leadership of Moses and Joshua: others believe that only Joseph did this, the other tribes having settled independently at earlier dates. Jsh 13 v 15-23 locates Reuben immediately north of Moab, on the hills east of the northern half of the Dead Sea. According to the Pentateuch, this was the first area of Palestine conquered by Israel; and if Reuben did take part in this mass-immigration and conquest, it certainly seems fitting that they, the "firstborn" of Israel, should have received the first allotment of the new land. But if we believe this, we must reject the theory that the Leah-group, in which Reuben traditionally held the first place, settled in Palestine before the Exodus. And on this orthodox view, Reuben's ~~absence~~ absence from the Ehud-saga is again inexplicable, since they must have resided in the corridor between Moab and Ephraim.

The writer does not rashly imagine that he can straighten out all these tangles. It might, however, simplify the problem of Reuben if we could believe that this tribe, like the Rechabite branch of the Kenites, remained semi-nomadic long after most of the other tribes had settled. Semi-nomadic tribes are naturally more elusive than settled ones, and might easily appear in different regions at different periods. The notice of Reuben in ~~the~~ Jd 5 v 15c,16 seems to support this view, though its translation is uncertain. The Hebrew reads, "Why didst thou sit between

the mishp'thayim, to hear the whistling-up of the flocks?" ^{The} Lexicon says that mishp'thayim probably means the fire-places or ash-heaps of a village or encampment, though most scholars translate it "sheepfolds". In any case, the picture seems to be one of pastoral life. In the ancient east, shepherds were not inevitably semi-nomadic, as witness Gn 26 v 20, which speaks of a dispute between Isaac's shepherds and the shepherds of Gerar. Jd 5 v 16 therefore does not prove that Reuben remained semi-nomadic, though it certainly harmonises well with this supposition.

Other OT evidence points in the same direction, though it seems to refer to Reuben's activities in Transjordan. Both Nm 32 and Jsh 22 describe Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh-East as uniting in a joint cattle-ranching enterprise; and this fits in with Noth's theory (System, 83) that "Leah" means cow and "Rachel" sheep, the "sons of Leah" and the "sons of Rachel" being respectively cattle ranchers and sheep breeders. But again this does not amount to positive proof that if Reuben did once live west of Jordan they were then cattle ranchers. Thus, the theory that Reuben remained semi-nomadic can only rank as a possibility, though on general grounds it may appear a very likely one. What does seem certain is that in the days of the Syrian War Reuben were in Transjordan; and 1 Chr 5 finds them there in the reign of Saul. If the Song of Deborah does imply that they were not in Transjordan during the days of Sisera, they must have settled there somewhere around the end of the period of the Judges or the earliest beginnings of the Monarchy. This, essentially, is Noth's view (GI 63), though he suggests that septs of Reuben may have been in Transjordan at an early date. He continues, "Originally, Reuben was situated, not in Transjordan, but somewhere in West-Jordan. The Song of Deborah still appears to reckon with West-Jordan dwelling-sites for Reuben; and elsewhere also we have at least a trace of early West-Jordan Reubenites." He then cites the reference in Jsh 15 v 6 and 18 v 17 to "the stone of Bohan the Reubenite". According to the Lexicon, Bohan means "cover" and Bohan "thumb"; but the two words may well be cognate. Noth boldly suggests that the original title of the stone (doubtless on account of its shape) was "the Reubenite thumb-stone", and that later tradition mistakenly assumed Bohan to be a personal name. The present writer believes this theory to be right, and regards the Bohan-stone as one more example, along with Rachel's Grave, Jacob's Pillar at Bethel, and the pillar mentioned in Gn 31 v 45, of an ancient stone, possibly of Chalcolithic origin, which was used by shepherds as a pasture boundary-mark, to avoid disputes with other pastoral groups.

The precise site of the Bohan-stone is perhaps hard to determine; but it apparently lay a few miles south of Jericho, not very far from the ford over the lowest reaches of the Jordan, mentioned in Jd 3 v 28. The proximity of this ford would be a great advantage to shepherds, who could thus make use of the pasture and oases on both sides of the Jordan in el-Ghor. Since el-Ghor lies close to the hills which Jsh 13 v 16f assigns to Reuben, we may perhaps harmonise those OT traditions which locate Reuben east of Jordan with those which rather suggest a West-Jordan site, by suggesting that originally the Reubenite flocks and herds grazed the Transjordan hills in winter and el-Ghor (as far westward as the Bohan-stone) in summer, but that towards the end of the period of the Judges most of the Reubenites settled in Transjordan, leaving a dwindling minority in the west. This minority gradually intermarried with and were absorbed by the Benjamites, until this southern strip of Benjamin came within the sphere of influence of Jerusalem, David's new capital, and so became absorbed into the kingdom of Judah.

Nm 32 v 1f states that Reuben, with Gad and Manasseh-East, settled in Transjordan because it was good for cattle. Grollenberg's Atlas shows a number of perennial streams in the sandstone hills of Transjordan, but very few in the limestone hills of West Jordan, east of their watershed. Not only do the eastern slopes of the West-Jordan ridge receive very little rain, but their streams, during the rainy seasons of the year when they are flowing, will tend to behave as all streams in limestone hills do, and carve out for themselves underground courses. Even in a wet climate such as that of Britain, such streams may disappear underground quite abruptly for part of their journey, as the river Manifold in Staffordshire does, to name but one example. If, as the evidence suggests, Reuben first pastured its flocks in the west and afterwards concentrated on the east, it is possible that shortly before the Monarchy some of the western tributaries of the lower Jordan forsook their old channels for subterranean ones, and so forced the Reubenite shepherds to move permanently into Transjordan, where the water-supply was less liable to such vagaries. It is less likely that they were forced out of West-Jordan by human pressure, since this area seems to have remained one of the most thinly-populated in Palestine. The evidence of Philistine pottery suggests that the Philistine menace never seriously affected the area immediately south of Jericho; while the Gideon and Jephthah sagas in Judges show that so far as the Jordan Valley was concerned, invasion was more likely to come from the east and north-east than from the west.

If we accept Noth's theory that Reuben moved from West-Jordan to East-Jordan, it is no longer necessary to tie up their immigration into Palestine with that of the Joseph-group. Perhaps the advent of the latter confined the Reubenites for some time to the west side of the Jordan, the Transjordan hills which they had formerly pastured during the winter months being now occupied by Joseph. In Nm 25 v 1f there is a tradition that those Israelites who came into Palestine under Moses' leadership intermarried with the Moabites and adopted their cult of Baal-Peor; and this is confirmed by the statement in Dt 34 v 6 that Moses was buried "in the land of Moab, over against Beth-Peor" - evidently the sanctuary of Baal-Peor. For reasons to be examined later, the writer is inclined to believe that this NE corner of the Dead Sea, with its adjacent hills and glens, was the original Promised Land, the settlements of the Joseph-group on the Ephraim Hills being an overflow colony, which eventually grew much larger than the parent-group, as colonies often do. If the Reuben group had formerly used the hill-pastures around Heshbon during each winter, their name would long have been associated with that area, and might thus quite easily attach itself to the new settlers, although in fact they were a separate group. A similar transfer of national labels may be found in the history of Scotland. The original Scotland was northern Ireland. The Irish planted a colony in what is now Argyll, which thus became known as Scotland, after which this name ceased to be applied to its original terrain in Ireland. If the name of Reuben was similarly transferred, it might explain not only the tangled state of the Reuben-traditions in the OT, but also the tradition that Reuben was the "firstborn" of Israel. But if we accept this theory, the evidence of the Song of Deborah suggests that this alleged transfer of the name of Reuben happened at a later period than that of Sisera. It is then no longer necessary to accept Noth's theory. We may simply conclude that Reuben originally migrated freely between Transjordan and el-Ghor, until the arrival of the Joseph-group confined them to the small area west of Jordan and south of Jericho, after which their numbers slowly dwindled until they were absorbed first by Benjamin and finally by Judah. The evidence hardly warrants a dogmatic statement: but it may be that somewhere between the two theories advanced above lies the truth about Reuben.

This suggestion that the parent-body of the Joseph-group, settled near Heshbon, became known as Reuben because they occupied land once grazed by the real original Reuben-group, might possibly explain the contradictory nature of the Reuben-traditions in the OT. On the one hand we have a picture of a thriving colony of cattle-ranchers, and on the other hand that of a dwindling tribe, doomed to slow extinction for a crime committed in its youth. Yet if, as Noth suggests, "the sons of Leah" were cattle-ranchers, it would appear that the Transjordan Reubenites were after all descendants of the old Reuben-group, not of the Joseph-group. The evidence so far examined does not suffice to solve these problems, which carry us back to a period much earlier, probably, than the earliest extant Hebrew poetry. Moore (ICC Judges 154,155) notes that the Mesha-stele mentions Gad but not Reuben. Yet Ezek 48 v 1-8, which we may term a blue-print of post-exilic Israel, makes room for Reuben, and assigns it, significantly, to a place between Ephraim and Judah. Since Ezekiel's list runs from north to south, from Dan to Judah, this is remarkable confirmation ~~that~~ of Noth's suggestion that the old ancestral home of Reuben lay south and south-west of Jericho. It would appear that whatever the actual history of Reuben may have been, the cultic and sentimental memories of Reuben, cherished by post-exilic Israel, associated the tribe with West-Jordan, not with Transjordan.

Noth's theory of Reuben seems to receive further support from 1 Chr 5 v 1,2, which speaks of "Reuben the firstborn of Israel, (for he was the firstborn; but, forasmuch as he defiled his father's bed, his birthright was given unto the sons of Joseph the son of Israel: and the genealogy is not to be reckoned after the birthright. For Judah prevailed above his brethren, and of him came the chief ruler; but the birthright was Joseph's.)" The "chief ruler" is evidently David, so that these two verses are primarily propaganda for the kings of Israel against the rival claims of Judah, either penned retrospectively by the Chronicler or copied by him from some earlier writer. And if by "birthright" the author means the possession of land, his statement would appear to mean that the Joseph-group acquired land originally possessed by Reuben. This supports the present writer's suggestion that the area south of Jericho which Noth regards as the original land of Reuben was absorbed into Benjamin before Judah annexed it. And since Jd 5 treats Reuben as an important tribe, while its name does not appear in the list of Ishbaal's provinces in 2 S 2 v 9, it probably dwindled and was absorbed into Benjamin somewhere between the age of Sisera and that of Ishbaal. On this basis its non-mention in the Ehud-Saga in Jd 3 is easily explained if we can date Ehud's campaign against Moab late in the period of the Judges. In Judges that campaign precedes the one against Sisera; but it need not have done so in time, if we can regard our extant Judges as a collection of originally independant sagas.

Where the evidence is so complex, one can hardly dogmatise about it. But perhaps we may tentatively conclude that before the advent of the Joseph-group, Reuben began to sojourn every summer in and around el-Ghor; that Joseph's arrival restricted them to a fairly small area south of Jericho and west of Jordan; and that these cramped conditions drove the bolder spirits among the Reubenites to go cattle-ranching in Transjordan along with the Gadites, who were already there when these Reubenite emigrants arrived. ~~Then~~ Late in the period of the Judges, the original Reuben probably dwindled and became absorbed into Benjamin, and later, in the closing years of David's career, into Judah. But their memory long survived, as that of "the firstborn of Israel", who had lived west of Jordan before Joseph arrived there.

Turning now to Gad, we note that this name appears neither in Jd 5 nor in 2 S 2 v 9, which describes Ishbaal's kingdom. Elsewhere in the OT we encounter the formula, "the Reubenites and the Gadites and the half-tribe of Manasseh". In these two passages, we hear only of "Gilead", a simple geographical name. The earliest OT reference to Gad is in the Blessing of Jacob, Gn 49 v 19, in what appears to be one of the oldest and most primitive parts of that complex poem. Here we encounter a popular pun about Gad, which, according to the Lexicon, entirely misunderstands the name! The verdict of the Lexicon, with which scholars are in general agreement, is that the name Gad has nothing to do with Gadud, "a troop", but means "good fortune", and is the name of a deity often found in Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions. This evidence that early Hebrew folklore misunderstood the name Gad suggests that the Gadites were foreigners to the Israelites; a suggestion supported by the birth-traditions in Gn 29,30, which reckon Gad among the adopted sons of Leah. It is not difficult to see an explanation of this birth-tradition in the fact, already discussed, that Reuben, the leading-Leah-tribe, joined Gad in its cattle-ranching enterprise. Noth (GI 63) remarks that Gad is unlikely to have come to Transjordan from West-Jordan; he also notes that according to Nm 32 v 1, which probably represents an older tradition than Jsh 13 v 15f, Gad originally occupied quite a small area, known as "the land of Jazer", a city of uncertain location, but probably situated in Transjordan farther north than the Dead Sea.

The OT seems to stress Gad's priestly vocation. Jsh 22 speaks of an altar at the east end of the Jordan ford, built by Gad: possibly a chalcolithic dolmen popularly attributed to the Gadites. Gn 32 v 1,2, 24f; 33 v 17, associate with Peniel and its vicinity old cultic traditions, here ~~linked~~ linked with Jacob, but probably of earlier Canaanite origin. And Peniel was one of Jeroboam I's key-points. Dt 33 v 17 ascribes to Gad the authority of an amphictyonic judge. And certain tribal lists in Numbers omit the name of Levi and substitute that of Gad. Noth (System, 7f) regards the minus-Levi type of tribal list as representing a later stage in the history of the Israelite amphictyony than that represented by the plus-Levi lists. The present writer would suggest rather that the minus-Levi, plus-Gad tradition is of Transjordan origin, and that the sanctuary at Peniel was an important centre of literary activity during the divided Monarchy. This stress on Gad's priestly vocation is perhaps linked with the life of the Gad-cult, syncretised, probably, with that of Yahweh, and probably greatly stimulated by the patronage of Jeroboam I., who evidently treated Peniel as the capital of ~~Transjordan~~ Transjordan. The emergence of Gad as a tribal name may also date from the age of Jeroboam I; and this would harmonise both with the absence of the name in Jd 5 and 2 S 2 and with its presence on the Mesha-stele.

Chapter 4. THE NORTHERN TRIBES.

In Jd 5 v 17b the author of the Song of Deborah asks a question that has evoked much controversy: "Why did Dan remain in ships?" It is generally admitted that neither on the Ephraim Hills, nor later at Laish, was Dan anywhere near the sea. Various ingenious solutions of this difficulty have been proposed. In 1890 Budde (see Moore ICC Jd 158,155) suggested substituting *ṭi'îš* (his meadows) for the MT *ṭi'îš* (ships), but later withdrew his suggestion. Rowley (J-J 83) reads *ṭi'îš* (valleys). Moore (ICC Jd) translates "Why does he live as a dependent, under the protection of the Phoenician sea-farers?" This sounds not only far-fetched, but irrelevant. Presumably the Israelite League were not directly concerned with Dan's trade-relations with Phoenicia, but only with their absence from the battle. If we paraphrase Moore's interpretation so as to read, "Why did Dan stay at home, busy with their mercantile trade?" - that is, with land-transport running in connection with the boats - it still seems a very far-fetched interpretation of the plain Hebrew question, "Why did Dan remain in ships?" And if the poet meant "Why were Dan out on the Mediterranean when they should have been at Megiddo?" then his complaint is surely unreasonable. Phoenician ships made long voyages. Unless such a boat was actually in her home port when the news of the impending battle reached the port, any Danite sailors aboard would probably not receive the news for months. Even a coasting trader might not make harbour soon enough for his men to hear the news and be at Megiddo in time for the battle. Moreover, would a Phoenician skipper have released any of his crew for such a purpose, unless at the end of a voyage?

If, therefore, the word "ships" is to stand (and it stands in the LXX), we are surely bound to conclude (1) that the Danites owned their ships, and (2) that they were never at sea for more than a few hours at a time. If these conclusions stand, we can at once dismiss from the discussion all ocean-going vessels, and even all coasting traders. It would seem that only one type of boat fits the two conditions stated above: namely, a fishing-boat. Such boats are commonly owned by those who sail them, in the modern as well as the ancient East; and they would normally only put to sea for the length of time required to make a haul.

This solution, if it were right, would dispose of the problem, How could the Danites sail boats and yet reach Megiddo in time for the battle there? There would remain the question, Where could they have sailed such boats? Certainly nowhere near Zorah and Eshtaol (Jd 13 v 25). The Mediterranean is also out of the question. It was much too far away, either in Samaria or at Laish. There remains only one possibility: one which was advanced some years ago by Garstang. Could Dan have possessed a fishing-fleet on Lake Huleh? Rowley (op.cit.82), commenting on Garstang's suggestion, says, "This seems unlikely, and again could not be relevant to more than a handful of the tribe...There is no evidence that the tribe of Dan ever bordered on Lake Huleh."

The present writer, in all humility, ventures to challenge Rowley's objections. Certainly, on modern maps of Palestine (before Huleh was drained, as the writer understands it was a few years ago) Huleh does not appear to offer much scope to the fishing industry. It was an inverted triangle, 4 miles from north to south, and 3 miles wide at its northern end. But all lakes have a tendency to silt up, especially a lake such as Huleh, which is fed by the headwaters of the Jordan. This river has a strong current, and drains all the western side of the Hermon

ridge and a considerable catchment area beyond. It must bring down enormous quantities of sediment every year; and this sediment, suddenly checked in its flow on entering Lake Huleh, would naturally tend to be deposited at the northern ~~end~~ end of the lake. Here we might expect to find evidence of the usual slow transition from lake to swamp and from swamp to meadow. And this is precisely what we do find. On its northern side the triangular lake melted into a vast, impassable swamp, 3 miles wide and 6 long. This in turn was succeeded at its northern end by an intricate maze of water-channels draining a tract of levels some 6 miles wide by 5 long. In these levels were many fishponds teeming with fish. It does not seem very far-fetched to suggest that in the days of the Judges there was clear water all the way up to Laish. If so, the lake would then be some 15 miles long by 4 wide; almost as large as the Sea of Galilee. The Gospel-references to fishing-boats on the Sea of Galilee are too numerous and too familiar to need quotation; and Mk 6 v 48 ("He saw them toiling in rowing; for the wind was contrary unto them") shows that they were sailing-boats. And Peter's words in Lk 5 v 5, "Master, we have toiled all the night, and have taken nothing", show that normally these boats were only out for a few hours at a time. If in the days of Deborah Huleh was as large as the writer suggests, Dan (who were only a small tribe) may well have made the fishing their chief industry - apart from any acts of brigandage in which their wilder citizens indulged. If so, then the poet's words are a simple and pointed reference to their daily occupation: they were placidly fishing at home when they should have been fighting at Megiddo.

In the previous chapter it was suggested that at the time of this battle there may have been a Reubenite community near Jericho, but that it was probably absorbed into Benjamin before Ehud's defeat of Moab, the latter event being therefore dated after the defeat of Sisera. In Judges Ehud's campaign precedes Barak's, and Dan's conquest of Laish follows it, some chapters later. The above evidence would suggest the reverse order, bringing Dan to Laish before the defeat of Sisera. But scholars are generally agreed that the various episodes in Judges did not necessarily occur in the order there presented, but represent traditions of various tribes, collected together.

The question in Jd 5 v 17, "Why did Dan remain in ships?" is immediately followed by the statement, "Asher continued on the sea shore." Poetic parallelism would suggest that the men of Asher also possessed boats. They may well have done so, in which case the above arguments would again apply, and we would surely have to conclude that they were fishing boats. But the song does not actually state this. The men of Asher may have been longshoremen, or traders. It has sometimes been suggested that since the "Sea-Peoples" occupied this coast, the Asherites either lived inland, parallel to the coast, or were not really Israelites. The Song of Deborah makes it evident that they were members of the Israelite League, pledged to send troops for amphictyonic wars. We have good evidence that the men of Issachar offered their services to Canaanite towns, and possible evidence that Levi did the same thing in Bethlehem. There is therefore no reason why Asher should not have followed suit. Both the Blessing of Jacob (Gn 49 v 20) and the Blessing of Moses (Dt 33 v 24,25) comment on Asher's prosperity; and indeed it seems not impossible that this is the origin of its name, an origin similar to the Roman translation of the name "Yemen" by the term "Arabia Felix". Such prosperity suggests trade rather than sheep-farming; and the traders of the ancient east placed themselves under the protection of cities often enough to suggest the possibility that the Israelites in Asher did the same. Probably they freely intermarried with the Sea-Peoples, and so were reckoned

among the mongrel tribes of Israel.

Seti I in 1313 B.C. and Rameses II in 1292, according to Burney's dates, both mention in their inscriptions the 'Asaru on the Phoenician coast. Not all scholars agree to identify this people with Asher; and many reject De Vaux's and Virolleaud's identification (Rowley J-J 34) of Asher and Zebulun in certain 15th century Ras Shamra texts. If the Egyptian references can be accepted, we must reckon Asher among the earliest Israelite tribes to settle in Palestine. The birth-traditions in Gn 29,30 make Asher an adopted son of Leah; and since there is evidence suggesting that the Leah-group settled early, in this point, at least, the birth-traditions seem to be in essential accord with historical fact.

Not only does the OT testify to Asher's wealth and military strength; there is a distinct possibility that it was the dominant tribe of Galilee: that is, if "Ashurite" and "Asherite" are cognate forms of the same name. In Jd 1 v 31 we read that Asher did not dispossess the coast-towns, but "the Asherites dwelt among the Canaanites". (This confirms the writer's suggestion that the Asherites were merchants living in the ports, rather than shepherds on the hills behind the coast.) Ezek 27 v 6 speaks of the "Ashurites" as craftsmen in ivory, who made ship's benches for the galleys from Tyre, while in the same breath the prophet says that the oars were made from oaks of Bashan. This is certainly a support for Moore's contention that Dan played some part in land-transport in connection with Phoenician shipping; though that part would ill accord with brigandage. Perhaps the brigandage belonged to Dan's earlier career, before Jeroboam I, or even before Solomon, while the land-transport was a later development. In any case, Ezekiel's words strongly suggest that Ashurites and Asherites were one and the same, since the obvious places of residence for makers of ship's fittings for Tyre merchants were the Phoenician ports, especially when the prophet remarks that the ivory was "brought out of the isles of Chittim." One can hardly imagine that it was transported to factories far inland, and then back to the ports as the finished article. The men who made the ivory benches would surely also be those who fastened them in place in the galleys; and this operation, naturally, could only be carried out in the ports.

But if the Asherites were the same as the Ashurites, this conclusion throws an interesting light on the description of Ishbaal's kingdom in 2 S 2 v 9. It consisted of Gilead, "the Ashurites", Jezreel, Ephraim, and Benjamin. It is not clear whether Ephraim included Manasseh; but the traditional bracketing of the two as parts of the House of Joseph suggests that it did. Similarly, the linking of Issachar and Zebulun in Dt 33 v 18 and in other tribal lists suggests that these together constituted Jezreel, after the Israelites gained possession of it. In this case, by elimination, the Ashurites must have comprised the three Galilaean tribes of Asher, Naphtali, and Dan, with Asher as the dominant partner. This is what Asher's situation in the sea-ports would lead one to expect. Thus it seems likely that under the early Monarchy, or even before it, these three tribes formed a self-contained group; the Galilee of the Gospels. Did the group borrow the name "Galilee" from some Canaanite league in or around Esdraelon, on which it was modelled, and part of whose territory it eventually acquired?

The name Galilee occurs times without number in the Gospels, but only six times in the OT, in Jsh 20 v 7, Jsh 21 v 32, 1 Chr 6 v 76, 1 K 9 v 11, 2 K 15

v 29, and Is 9 v 1 (AV). In the first three of these references we read of "Kedesh in Galilee". The fifth uses the name Galilee in parallelism with "all the land of Naphtali". The fourth speaks of the cities in Galilee which Solomon gave to Hiram in payment for building materials; the sixth, written, apparently, from Transjordan, or even from Mesopotamia, uses the words, "by the way of the sea (of Galilee?) beyond Jordan, in Galilee of the nations. This is the most interesting reference of the six for our present purpose, because it has close affinities with the Alexandrine reading of the LXX in Jsh 12 v 9f. Where the Hebrew has "the king of the nations of Gilgal", the Alexandrine LXX reads, "the king of the nations of Galilee". Noth (Josua 73) compares this Greek reading with "Harosheth of the Gentiles" in Jd 4 v 2, Sisera's headquarters, according to Jd 4. In Jsh 11 v 1f, Jabin of Hazor, threatened with an Israelite invasion, invokes the aid of the kings of Madon, Shimron, Achshaph, the towns "on the north of the mountains, and of the plains south of Chinneroth, and in the valley, and in the ~~mm~~ borders of Dor on the west"...and many more. And in v 10 of that chapter we read that "Hazor beforetime was the head of all those kingdoms."

Allowing for a little patriotic exaggeration in this account, it would seem that there was a large Canaanite league, formed, perhaps, to meet the double menace of an expanding Israel and the aggressive Sea-Peoples. Whether Sisera's town was Megiddo, Taanach, or Harosheth (which the archaeologists have located, somewhat uncertainly, on the Kishon), it evidently stood at the SW end of the league-area, whereas Jabin's town, Hazor, was at the NE end. The leadership of the league, therefore, would seem to have been centred upon the NE corner when Israel defeated Jabin, and the diagonally opposite corner when they defeated Sisera. The battle against Jabin, as described in Jsh 11, was fought "at the waters of Merom" (Jsh 11 v 5), and was immediately followed by the destruction of Hazor, which cannot therefore have been very far from Merom. Grollenberg (Atlas 156) says that Merom is often identified with Lake Huleh, but is more likely to designate a spring and wady near the modern village of Meiron, SW of Lake Huleh. On the other hand, the Song of Deborah plainly states that Sisera was defeated "in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo". This evidence leaves little doubt that the two defeats were distinct events, even if one followed the other quite closely. It also seems clear that even if Sisera was officially no more than "the captain of Jabin's host", at the time of his defeat he was the real ruler of the league chariotry. And as Sisera's district is suspiciously near to the coast, it looks very much as if Sisera represented the Sea-Peoples, who, either by treachery or by open war, had managed to gain control of the league-forces, originally assembled to fight against them.

The situation was evidently complex, and ~~xxx~~ is probably susceptible of more than one interpretation. A judgement would be easier if we knew on whose side Sisera was really fighting. The picture is further complicated by the figures of Shamgar son of Anath and Barak the son of Abinoam, of Kedesh-Naphtali. Noth (GI 41) remarks that Philistine pottery has been found at Beth-Shan in the Jordan Valley and in sites in the Vale of Jezreel; and he regards "Sisera" as an Illyrian name and its possessor as a leader of the Sea-Peoples, perhaps the TKR of Dor. In Jsh 11 v 2 Dor appears as an ally of Jabin. But "Jabin" is surely a Semitic name. And if Barak was a king of Kedesh-Naphtali, with whom the ~~Naphtali~~ Naphtali Israelites had a treaty of friendship, he was probably Jabin's most hated rival. Possibly the two had been at one another's throats for years; and when Barak called the

Israelites of Naphtali and Zebulun to his aid in crushing his rival, Jabin took the fatal step of inviting the Sea-Peoples to his aid, as in 353 B.C. the Phocians, worsted in their struggle with Thebes, invited the aid of Philip of Macedonia. Since Jabin could not do this when he was dead, and since Jsh 11 claims that after defeating his allies the Israelites destroyed Hazor and killed "the king thereof" (v 10) - surely Jabin himself? - if this account is correct in these details, Jabin must have called in the aid of Sisera and the Sea-Peoples before the battle was fought "at the waters of Merom". The prose account in Jd 4 (v 23) ends its description of the death of Sisera with the statement, "So God subdued on that day Jabin the king of Canaan before the children of Israel."

We have already noted that the name "Barak" means "lightning". Perhaps this is the clue to the whole mystery. Was this, perhaps, a military nickname which Barak had already earned in previous campaigns by the lightning rapidity of his decisions and his manoeuvres? If so, we may perhaps conjecture that he was always one move ahead of his rival, that his intelligence-service was efficient, and that Jabin had scarcely made up his mind to call in the Sea-Peoples before Barak was aware of his intentions, and forestalled him by a lightning attack before the Sea-Peoples had time to arrive. This would help to explain why (as seems probable) six Israelite tribes fought against Sisera, and only two against Jabin. Barak, we may suppose, rallied those Israelites within immediate reach, at the same time sending an urgent call to their kinsmen further south to join him as soon as possible. In this case the defeat of Jabin by the waters of Merom would be comparable with the Spartan resistance to the Persians at Thermopylae. It held the situation in check until reinforcements could arrive from the Ephraim Hills. When the latter did arrive, Barak marched his combined forces westward to meet the full force of the Sea-Peoples. And if Greek politics are in any way parallel, we may safely assume that the various members of the Canaanite League ranged themselves on one side or on the other in accordance with old rivalries between one city and another. Some joined Barak and his Israelite allies: others sided with the Sea-Peoples.

This interpretation (which is quite tentative) is perhaps ~~contradicted~~ ^{contradicted} by the statement in Jd 5 that in the days of Shamgar Israelite trade along the highways was throttled. The main highway was the old north road from Egypt to Syria, which crossed the Plain of Esdraelon, and had been kept strongly garrisoned by Egypt in her palmy days. The evidence is not conclusive, since these garrisons might have been revived either by the Canaanite League, as a defence against both the Israelites and the Sea-Peoples, or by the Sea-Peoples themselves as the strategic backbone of their advance into Esdraelon. Perhaps both are true: the Canaanite League garrisoned the roads, and the Sea-Peoples won over the garrisons by force or bribery. Since Shamgar apparently took no part in the events narrated in Jd 4 & 5, he was perhaps an earlier figure, in which case Sisera's infiltration had been advancing for some time before the final crisis. Jd 3 states that "he (Jabin?) had 900 chariots of iron, and 20 years he mightily oppressed the children of Israel." This seems an enormous force for the king of one small city. According to 1 K 10 v 26 Solomon himself had only 1004. Jabin's 900 chariots must surely have represented the total resources of the league of which he was president. Apparently Jabin employed Sisera and the Sea-Peoples as mercenaries, and then discovered that they had become his masters.

In such a complex situation it is not easy to trace a coherent pattern. The part played by Shamgar is also not entirely clear. For one thing, his nationality ~~appears uncertain. Rowley (J-J 80) says, "a Canaanite and may~~

appears to be uncertain. Rowley (J-J 80) says, "Graham and May think he was actually a Philistine, while Albright says his name is Hittite, and Maisler that it is Hurrian. Whether the Shamgar of the one passage (Jd 3 v 31) is to be identified with the Shamgar of the other (Jd 5 v 6) is not certain, though it may be agreed that when we meet this name in two passages so close together it is antecedently likely that the same person is referred to. Albright suggests that he first drove off the Philistines when they entered the land and sought to establish themselves in the coastal plain, and then afterwards became an oppressor of the Israelites, being succeeded by Sisera of Harosheth. All of this is most problematical." In a footnote on the same page, Rowley adds, "Albright holds that this name means Shamgar of Beth-Anath, in Galilee, and not Shamgar, the son of Anath." The present writer believes that on this point Albright is right, except that if Shamgar was king of Beth-Anath, a city of which Anat was presumably the patron goddess, he might well style himself "son of Anath". In Jd 1 v 33 Beth-Anath and Beth-Shemesh are named as two cities which Naphtali did not conquer, but which afterwards became tributary to Israel. Here, as elsewhere in Jd 1, we learn that the Israelites dwelt among the Canaanites.

It seems evident that in Beth-Anath and in many other Canaanite cities, the Israelites, still, perhaps, in the semi-nomadic stage, made treaties of friendship with the local king. In Gn 14 v 20 we read that Abraham paid tithes to the king of Salem. Whether or not this is an historical fact, it may well be truly typical of the early relationships between Israel and Canaan. In return for the use of the town well and town common-lands, the Bedouin would pay some portion of their produce. Since Bedouin are normally here today and gone tomorrow, except during the summer months, while the townsfolk of a city are permanently settled, a treaty of mutual defence hardly seems a practical possibility in such a case. But it would become practicable if the Bedouin were permitted to settle near the town; and it would obviously be to their mutual advantage. The writer is inclined to think that in the figures of Barak of Kedesh-Naphtali and Shamgar of Beth-Anath we may see local Canaanite kings (Canaanite by adoption, if not necessarily by birth), with whom the Israelites made treaties of mutual defence when they finally ceased to be semi-nomadic and settled in or near the towns. In such cases the loyalty of the Israelites would naturally be toward the local king. If the king managed to extend his power, he might build up a Canaanite league, and along with it, a league of those Israelites attached to the various towns over which he had extended his authority. Did the united league of Naphtali and Zebulun come into existence in some such way as this, under the leadership of Barak?

This suggestion is only meant to apply to the Naphtali League, not to that of "the House of Joseph" on the Ephraim Hills. The Song of Deborah states plainly that Yahweh is the God of Israel, and that His home is in the far south. He is not a Canaanite god, ~~but~~ but is the God who brought Israel into Palestine. But in Jd 5 v 8 we read that ~~the~~ Israel "chose new gods". The birth-traditions in Gn 29,30 make Dan and Naphtali adopted sons of Rachel. Was this, perhaps, the occasion of their adoption? Did Barak, measuring the odds against him, decide to become an ally of "Israel", which, hitherto, had comprised only "the House of Joseph", and to accept the cult of Yahweh the God of Israel? If so, it becomes especially easy to understand what an outstanding occasion this victory over Sisera really was. As well as being a military victory, it was a moral and cultic one. Israel did more than win a battle; they won new recruits to their league, and new converts to the worship of Yahweh.

These conjectures are strikingly supported by the well-known fact that the Jews of Elephantine, at a later date, worshipped Yahweh conjointly with Anat and other deities. Orthodox Judaism might perhaps regard this as backsliding; but since the religion of yesterday often lingers in quiet backwaters, while elsewhere the mainstream of current opinion has swept it away, it seems more likely that the Jews of Elephantine worshipped Anat along with Yahweh because their fathers had done so in Palestine. Is the statement in Jd 5 v 8, "They chose new gods", the official record of the marriage of Yahweh and Anat - that is, of the Ephraim League and the Naphtali League - on the ~~next~~ eve of the battle against Sisera? We read in Jd 3 v 31 that Shamgar "the son of Anath" defeated the Philistines and delivered Israel. The writer would suggest that it was he who mainly built up the Naphtali League, but that Barak (not Sisera, as Albright suggests) (Rowley, J-J 79,80) continued his work. The words addressed to Naphtali in Dt 33 v 23, "Possess thou the west and the south", suggest that the Naphtali League expanded in these directions, beginning from the region of Kedesh-Naphtali. The leadership of Shamgar and Barak might perhaps represent respectively the second and third stages of this expansion.

In the above reconstruction it was suggested that Barak led Naphtali and Zebulun against Jabin while waiting for the other Israelite contingents to arrive, and then marched his combined forces against Sisera. The reverse order is also possible. The larger battle may have been fought first, the capture of Hazor and killing of Jabin being a "mopping-up operation". In the following chapter, in the hope of throwing a little more light on these tangled events, an attempt will be made to analyse the prose narratives in Jsh 11 and Jd 4.

Chapter 5. THE NARRATIVES IN Jsh 11 AND Jd 4.

John Bright (Early Is. 39) has strongly opposed the theory, sponsored by Noth (Josua 37n2) and Alt (Kl.Schr.I 130) and others, that the conquests ascribed to Joshua at the head of a pan-Israelite army were in fact independent local successes, won by comparatively small bodies of tribesmen. It seems to the present writer that the defeat of Jabin constitutes a test-case. For in Jsh 11 it is accomplished by Joshua, at the head of the entire military resources of the twelve tribes, very early in the conquest of Palestine. (Jsh 13 v 1 informs us that even when Joshua became very old, there still remained much land to be conquered.) In Jd 4, on the other hand, Jabin is defeated, not by Joshua, but by Barak: not by all Israel, but by two tribes only: not early in the settlement, but well on through the period of the Judges. Thus, the OT contradicts itself on three salient points regarding one battle, and invites us to choose between its own two stories! Moreover, it is the later date for the battle, rather than the earlier one, that is emphasised by OT tradition, since the victories over Sisera and Jabin are coupled together, not only in Jd 4, but also in Ps 83 v 9. Surely it can hardly be doubted that, of these two versions, that contained in Jd 4 is much the more probable. The fact that it limits the fighting to the two tribes personally concerned in it is strongly in its favour: though it is only fair to remember that it was this same consideration that induced Vernes to date Jd 5 later than Jd 4; a conclusion that seems highly improbable. More striking, perhaps, is the later date which the Jd 4 version ascribes to the battle; a date that accords well with Alt's general theory that the settlement was for years a peaceful process, which came to open conflict with the Canaanites only at a late stage, as a general rule. (Kl.Schr.I 137,142.)

It is true that Jd 4 appears to have confused the defeat of Jabin with that of Sisera, though they were distinct events. (If the reconstruction of these events given in the previous chapter can be accepted, they followed very closely upon one another, and so could quite easily have become confused in the traditions in the course of time.) But it may be possible to extract from Jd 4 and Jsh 11 something approximating to the original nuclei of these narratives; and if the following attempt to do this can be accepted as roughly accurate, it would appear that although these two hypothetical nuclei implement one another, they do not contradict one another, but harmonise together and agree well with the inherent probabilities of the situation.

In seeking to extract from Jd 4 the original nucleus of the Jabin-story, Jd 5 forms an invaluable yard-stick. Since Jd 5 describes the defeat of Sisera in full detail, those details (which constitute the bulk of the prose narrative) may all be eliminated from Jd 4 in our search for the Jabin-story. What remains is of great interest, containing, as it does, two parallel conclusions, shown below:-

Jd 4 v 23

So God subdued on that day Jabin the king of Canaan before the children of Israel.

Jd 4 v 24

And the hand of the children of Israel prospered, and prevailed against Jabin the king of Canaan, until they had destroyed Jabin king of Canaan.

Both these conclusions suggest that Sisera was defeated first; but the first suggests that the victors over Sisera immediately marched against Jabin in a "mopping-up" operation, while the second suggests that the defeat of Sisera was

merely the first step in the gradual breaking of Jabin's power and establishment of Israel's. The military exigences of the situation, as the writer conceives them, dispose him to reject both these conclusions as being merely the misunderstanding of a later age, and to adhere to his own theory, advanced above, that Barak first defeated Jabin with the forces ready to hand, and only attacked Sisera when reinforcements arrived. But this suggestion is only tentative, and may well be wrong. The second conclusion might also be interpreted as a general review of the progress of Israel, in harmony with Alt's view (already referred to) that it was slow and mainly peaceful, the battles mostly ~~being~~ being fought in the later stages. Alt bases his view on general grounds, especially on the history of other Semitic semi-nomads who at various periods have settled on the culture-fringe.

The opening verses of Jd 4 contain the familiar formulae of the Judges-framework: "And the children of Israel again did evil in the sight of Yahweh... and Yahweh sold them into the hand of X...and the children of Israel cried unto Yahweh..." These, naturally, will not belong to the original Jabin-story. Perhaps the old nucleus was somewhat as follows: "And Jabin king of Canaan, who reigned in Hazor, had (900) chariots of iron, and (20 years?) he mightily oppressed the children of Israel." Numbers such as these usually constitute the most doubtful element in these stories. Twenty years is a round number and a schematic one, which we may perhaps translate "for many years". As to the chariots, if the number 900 belongs to the original nucleus, then, as suggested above, it must surely represent (more or less accurately) the entire stock of the Canaanite League. But if Jabin's tributaries possessed a strong force of chariots, they must (at least in the first ~~instance~~ instance) have been subject to his rule by their own consent. Thus, it seems likely that Jabin rose to power, not as a typical oriental despot, but rather as a charismatic leader, like Gideon, Jephthah, and Saul.

We now come to the enigmatic figure of Deborah. Her prominence in the song suggests that she belongs to the Sisera-story but not to the Jabin-story: which means, if the writer's reconstruction of events is correct, to the original Ephraim League rather than to its new allies of Zebulun and Naphtali. And the prose-narrative of Jd 4 confirms this inference by locating ^{her} on the Ephraim Hills, near Bethel. Barak, on the other hand, definitely belongs to Kedesh-Naphtali; and in Jd 4 v 10, he calls the men of Zebulun and Naphtali to this city. Since ~~Jd~~ Jd 4, though later than Jd 5, is free from the exaggerations conspicuous in other OT sagas, and since, also, Kedesh is an obvious rallying-place for an attack on Hazor, this statement strongly impresses one with its probable reliability. But the statements in Jd 5 are also impressive. Would an OT writer have invented the defection of Reuben, Gilead, Dan, and Asher? The conclusion seems to be that both statements are true, and refer either to two entirely separate events, or (as the writer believes) to two stages in one campaign, Tabor being the rallying-ground for the second battle, the massed attack upon Sisera. It was ideal for this purpose, commanding, as it does, the whole plain of Esdraelon. It would enable a watch to be kept for surprise movements of the enemy down in the plain, while it would also enable the Joseph-group, and any other Israelites who proposed to come, to approach Tabor either by the wadys ascending from the Jordan or by the horse-shoe of high ground to north and south of the Vale of Jezreel, avoiding the main group of cities in the plain. These hills provided an ~~excellent~~ equally useful view over the Jordan Valley and the hills of Gilead, so that it is not surprising that both Gideon's battle against Midian and Saul's last stand against the Philistines were fought out on these same hills.

In view of these facts, it would seem that in extracting from Jd 4 the account of the battle against Jabin, (whether it was part of the Sisera-campaign or an entirely separate affair), we must disregard all references to Sisera, Deborah, and Mount Tabor. Accordingly we must omit Jd 4 v 4-9, all of which, apart from an odd harmonising phrase or two, belongs to the account of the battle against Sisera. The final phrase in v 10 also looks like a harmonisation, ("And Deborah went up with him") - though it would fit easily enough into the writer's idea that the one battle at once followed the other, as soon as the reinforcements could be assembled on Tabor. Verses 11 to 22, of course, also belong to the Sisera-story. We are therefore left with parts of v 2 & 3, v 10a, and either v 23 or v 24. The reconstructed narrative will then run somewhat as follows:-

"And Jabin, king of Canaan, that reigned in Hazor, had 900 chariots of iron; and (many) years he mightily oppressed the children of Israel. And Barak called Zebulun and Naphtali to Kedesh (and he went up with 10,000 men at his feet). And the hand of the children of Israel prospered, and prevailed against Jabin the King of Canaan, until they had destroyed him."

Turning to the parallel story of Jabin in Jsh 11, we must surely allow some discount for patriotic enthusiasm, and omit v 34 & 4, and perhaps the last clause in v 2. V 6 also smacks of the late editor, as do the details of the chase in v 8. The phrase in v 8, "and chased them unto great Zidon", has a proverbial flavour, suggestive of such modern colloquialisms as "to Kingdom Come", or "to Timbaktu". The words "unto great Zidon" occur also in Jsh 19 v 28, in the description of the frontier of Asher. The total destruction described in v 9, 11-15, again sounds editorial and didactic, as do the remaining verses of the narrative, v 16f. The original nucleus of Jsh 11, therefore, may perhaps be seen in v 1, 2, 5, 7, 8a, & 10:-

"And...when Jabin king of Hazor had heard those things,...he sent to Jobab king of Madon, and to the king of Shimron, and to the king of Achshaph, and to the kings that were on the north of the mountains, and of the plains south of Chinneroth, and in the valley, and in the borders of Dor on the west. And when all these kings were met together, they came and pitched together at the waters of Merom, to fight against Israel. So (Barak?) came, and all the people of war with him, against them by the waters of Merom suddenly; and they fell upon them. And Yahweh delivered them into the hand of Israel, who smote them, and chased them "unto great Zidon". And (Barak?) at that time turned back, and took Hazor, and smote the king thereof with the sword: for Hazor beforetime was the head of all those kingdoms."

In this reconstruction the writer has ventured to substitute the name of Barak for that of Joshua. Many eminent scholars have doubted Joshua's connection with this story; and the fact that Barak is the hero of the parallel account suggests that the better-known name of Joshua is more likely to have stolen Barak's fame, than the other way round.

As already remarked, these two reconstructed narratives implement one another, But do not contradict each other. And in two important points they closely agree: firstly, in locating the fight in the general region of Kedesh-Naphtali; and secondly, in making it evident that Jabin called the Canaanite League to his aid; since, as already remarked, 900 chariots is an absurd number to be possessed by one small, remote city.

The difficulty of deciding which came first, the defeat of Jabin or that of

Sisera, has already been noticed. In favour of dating the latter before the former, it could be argued that the thunderstorm which bogged down Sisera's chariots and terrified his horses taught the Israelites how to deal with chariots, by luring them on to unsuitable ground and then stampeding the horses by a sudden attack. At the defeat of Sisera, it would seem, the full forces of six tribes were elated at having defeated the dreaded chariots, whereas at the defeat of Jabin two tribes took the chariots almost as a matter of course, and were so sure of themselves that they divided their forces, one section pursuing the fugitives while the rest turned back and destroyed Hazor, denuded of its defenders. This certainly looks as if in attacking Jabin the Israelites turned over the experience gained at Megiddo; but it could equally mean simply that the attack on Jabin was a much smaller affair because neither side had had time to bring up their full forces. Jsh 11 v 7 expressly states that the Israelites launched a sudden, surprise-attack upon Jabin. Even without the experience of Megiddo to guide them, they might have done this with the double purpose of terrifying the horse and of fighting the battle as quickly as possible before Jabin's allies had time to arrive. If they could afford to do this, it suggests that they knew Jabin's allies to be of the sort that prefer to fight on the side that is already winning. Again we have a hint of treachery and intrigue in the ranks of the Canaanite League. But our information is too fragmentary and too contradictory in its implications to warrant any dogmatic assertions about it. But the mention of Dor in Jsh 11 v 2 does suggest that Jabin called in the Sea-Peoples, thereby alienating the loyalty of many of the league-members. When we recall the kaleidoscopic nature of Greek history in the 4th century B.C. when the star of Philip of Macedonia was in the ascendant, and remember that Esdraelon presented a pattern of numerous independent city-states similar to that of Greece, it seems likely enough that the facts behind the stories in Jsh 11 and Jd 4,5 were highly intricate. It would almost have been a miracle had Hebrew tradition transmitted them all clearly and accurately.

The part played in these and other events in Judges and 1,2 Samuel by Tabor and its neighbouring hills suggests a very interesting possibility. This natural bridge-head between Galilee and the Ephraim Hills formed, as has been said, a horseshoe enclosing the Vale of Jezreel, as it descended to the Jordan Valley. In the ~~Vatican~~ Vatican text of the LXX, אִשְׂרָאֵל and יִזְרְעֵל , Israel and Jezreel, are usually both ~~transliterated~~ transliterated Ἰσραήλ , while the Alexandrine text usually keeps them distinct. The Hebrew MT carefully distinguishes them; yet in Hos 1 v 4, 5, 11 we find word-plays on the two words which suggest that their pronunciation was much more identical than one would guess from their Hebrew spelling. Especially striking are the cases of 1 S 29 v 1, "And the Israelites pitched by a fountain which is in Jezreel", and 2 S 2 v 9, in which Abner makes Ishbaal king over "Gilead, the Ashurites, Jezreel, etc...and all Israel." In both texts the Vatican LXX renders both Jezreel and Israel by Ἰσραήλ . And in Gesenius-Kautzsch's Hebrew Grammar, par 2 section h, we read that in Phoenician inscriptions Ayin could represent long O, as in the name Mocar, Phoen. מכר , Masoretic Hebrew מָכַר , LXX μαχα . G-K says nothing of a corresponding change from Hebrew Zayin to Phoenician Sin; and the LXX normally renders Zayin by Z. But this makes its rendering of יִזְרְעֵל by Ἰσραήλ , transliterating Zayin into Sigma, all the more striking. If we may venture to follow this lead given by the Vatican LXX and the word-plays in Hosea, it suggests that the name Israel, as meaning first the Hebrew league and then the northern kingdom based upon it, first came into use when the Naphtali and Ephraim leagues formed an alliance, around the time of the defeat of Sisera.

The writer frankly admits that this suggestion is a daring one, which would probably not commend itself to philologists. But it seems to fit the military situation in Jd 5 like a glove, especially the statement in v 8, "They chose new gods", which to the writer suggests (as already stated) that this was the occasion when the Naphtali League came into the Israelite amphictyony. And if Sisera was in fact a leader of the Sea-Peoples whom Jabin treacherously turned loose in Esdraelon, the Canaanites had every reason to be grateful to Israel and to Yahweh the God of Israel for defeating him. It would not be surprising if, after this event, the remnants of the old Canaanite league came into the Israelite amphictyony and accepted the cult of Yahweh as their best defence against the ever-growing menace of the Philistines. And this would fully explain how Jezreel came to be a province in Ishbaal's kingdom.

There is another consideration, which seems very significant. In 1 Samuel, Shiloh appears as the cultic centre of Israel. For the House of Joseph, settled on the Ephraim Hills, it was an obvious choice, central and convenient. For the men of Galilee and Gilead it was far less convenient. These facts suggest that Shiloh became the cult-centre of Yahwism in an age when the ~~worshipping~~ Yahweh-worshipping league consisted only of the House of Joseph, namely the three tribes of Manasseh, Ephraim, and Benjamin. And these are the tribes who alone, in Noth's view, (System, 70) came out of Egypt. Noth's theory, and the part played in Israelite history by Shiloh and the ark which resided there, will be discussed in the following chapter. At this stage, the theories advanced in this and the previous chapter are intended to be entirely provisional; but the writer believes that at least they possess sufficient probability to merit further enquiry.

one of these songs is the Song of Deborah, which in its earliest form may almost certainly be traced back to the late period of the Judges, it would appear that the song of the ark quoted here from the Song of Deborah must date back to the first half of the period of the Judges, not so very long after the settlement in Palestine of the Joseph-tribes. If the reference to Sinai be not a later insertion, this must be the earliest mention of Sinai in the OT, and will then be proof that the Joseph-group, at any rate, or at least some of their ancestors, had been at Sinai and had brought the traditions of Sinai with them into Palestine. But even if we distrust these references to Sinai as being possibly late redactions, the other localities named in these songs - Seir, Edom, Paran, and "Teman" - all lay in the far south, and coincide with the traditional route of the Exodus as described in the Pentateuch. These facts entitle us to link the ark with the Sinai tradition, and to infer that ~~the ark and tradition alike~~ ark and tradition alike were brought into Palestine by ancestors of the Joseph-group and not by Gad, Naphtali, or Asher, which appear to have entered Palestine from the north.

It should be noted, however, that the traditions in Gn 31 v 19 and 35 v 4 relate that Rachel stole teraphim from Laban, and Jacob buried them at Shechem. This suggests that such teraphim, which, as Sir Leonard Woolley's excavations at Ur have shown, were small, portable figurines, were the normal cult-objects of semi-nomadic tribes. The ark, on the contrary, was a cult-object of a special kind, known to us (so far as the writer is aware) only in the traditions of Israel. It was therefore probably not the cult-object of the Aramaean ancestors of Israel, but had a different origin. Since we read in 1 K 19 v 8 that Elijah went to Horeb, which appears to be the alternative name of the origin^{mountain} of Yahweh, it seems probable that the ark and the Sinai-tradition were especially associated with pilgrimages, and that these pilgrimages were maintained at regular intervals by the colleges of prophets during the Divided Monarchy. The itinerary of the Exodus in Nm 33 may therefore be based on the route taken by these pilgrimages. And the evidence of the songs of the ark, examined above, strongly suggests that these pilgrimages date back to the period immediately after the settlement of the Joseph-group in Palestine. The simple inference is that they were commemorations of the immigration of the Joseph-group.

These conclusions are in harmony with Noth's theory (System, 70) that only the Joseph-group came out of Egypt; and they are supported by the tradition in Gn 29,30 that Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher were only adopted sons of Israel. They also seem to be confirmed by the Song of Miriam.

On p 2 above we noted Albright's observation that the phrase, "the mountain of thine inheritance", in the Song of Miriam (Ex 15 v 17), occurs in the Canaanite Baal epic, composed not later than 1400 B.C., and that therefore in Ex 15 it does not indicate a late date of composition. Albright adds (Arch. Pal. 233), "It follows from this and other similar facts that there is no longer the slightest valid reason for dating the Song of Miriam after the 13th century B.C. Of course, this does not mean that every phrase or line is equally old, since these ancient poems were probably handed down for generations by word of mouth."

The underlining is the present writer's; and he is personally grateful to Albright for adding this cautionary sentence, because the Song of Miriam bears signs of complex structure. It appears to consist of three songs of the Red Sea, the first, perhaps, older than the other two, intertwined with a song of the settlement in Palestine, as shown overleaf:-

 CONJECTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE SONG OF MIRIAM, Ex 15.

v 1bc = 21. Song of the Sea (unnamed) v 3-5. Song of the Red (Sea) v 6-10. Song of the Red Sea

v 2,11-18. Song of the wanderings, the revolt of Dathan and Abiram (?), the march through Transjordan, the crossing of the Jordan, the settlement in Palestine, and the building there of a sanctuary of Yahweh.

This analysis is based on the facts (1) that the adventure of the sea is told three times, (2) that the first and second accounts of this adventure are ~~inter~~ interrupted by the building of Yahweh's temple, which belongs to the very end of the story, (3) that this last-named reference speaks of "my father's God", which suggests that when the sanctuary in question was built, the events of the Exodus were already distant, (4) that this reference in v 2, so strangely incongruous in its immediate context, is in perfect harmony with v 17, and (5) that the doxologies which punctuate the song are likely to mark ends of sections and/or beginnings of new sections.

Since the aim of this study is to trace the history of the Hebrew tribal system in Palestine, the events at the Red Sea do not directly concern us. It may therefore suffice to remark that if the above analysis is justified, the existence of three parallel yet distinct songs of the Red Sea strongly confirms the OT tradition that the events in question ~~were~~ really happened, and were of vital importance in the religious history of Israel. And this conclusion is surely not invalidated if we accept Noth's theory (System, 70) that only Joseph came out of Egypt. Only a small fraction of Britain's population were rescued from the beaches of Dunkirk in the second world war; yet we rightly feel that this was an outstanding event in the experience of our nation as a whole.

For our present purpose, the interest of the poem is concentrated upon v 2, 11-18, which the writer ventures to term "the Song of the Sanctuary". It begins and ends (v 2,17) with a reference to the building of a sanctuary for Yahweh, "my father's God". In its middle section, it rehearses several events of the Exodus, beginning with the words (v 12), "Thou stretchedst out thy right hand, the earth swallowed them." This surely refers, not to the Red Sea crossing, but to the revolt of Dathan and Abiram, as described in Nm 16. The latter narrative is a conflation, much of it apparently late, and probably inspired by the ecclesiastical quarrels of the post-exilic period. Like the story of the fight with Amalek in Ex 17, it appears to be a self-contained literary complex, whose link with its present context is probably late and tenuous. The fact that Dathan and Abiram are described as sons of Reuben (Nm 16 v 1) strongly suggests that the revolt took place in the immediate neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, in or near the traditional territory of Reuben, or possibly in the area south of Jericho which Noth regards as the original home of Reuben. If we believe that Reuben were in or around el-Ghor when the Joseph-group arrived there, a conflict between the two groups seems very probable. Perhaps the Reubenites lost some of their men, and were forced back into the corner of land south of Jericho, indicated by Noth. The shores of the Dead Sea are mentioned in the poetic fragments in Nm 21; and this is the one part of Palestine and the adjacent lands where earth-subsidences seem likely to have occurred occasionally, since it is the deepest part of that singular rift-valley which extends far south from the Lebanon ranges, and which evidently marks a line of weakness in the earth's crust. The story of the

engulfing of Dathan and Abiram recalls the tradition in Gn 14 that the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, when fleeing from an enemy, lost their lives through falling into asphalt-pits in the Vale of Siddim, on the shores of the Dead Sea.

This location of the revolt of Dathan and Abiram on the shores of the Dead Sea is confirmed by the localities mentioned in v 14,15 of this "Song of the Sanctuary". We read that the passage of the host terrified "the inhabitants of Palestina", "the dukes of Edom", and "the mighty men of Moab". Not only does this reference match in its general locality those in the poems in Nm 21, but it is possible that the use of the word Palestina (Hebr. Pelesheth) may enable us to fix the earliest possible date of the Song of the Sanctuary. The Lexicon describes the word Pelesheth as poetic and late; but if Albright's conclusions are right, the word must be ancient. Apart from the present passage, its earliest use in the OT is probably in Is 14 v 29,31, "Rejoice not thou, whole Palestina!" - which, in the Hebrew, is "Pelesheth kullek", "Palestine, all of thee": a curious phrase, which seems to suggest that in the time of First-Isaiah (the reign of Hezekiah, mid-8th century B.C.) the application of the term "Pelesheth" to the whole country which we now call Palestine was still an innovation, likely to cause confusion with its earlier meaning, which we now represent by the name "Philistia". It seems likely that when the Song of the Sanctuary was composed, Pelesheth still meant only the coastal plain occupied by the Philistines; and this theory is supported by the fact that both Amos 2 v 10 and Nm 21 v 31 speak of the incoming Israelites as possessing, not "Pelesheth", but "the land of the Amorite". But evidently the word ~~Pelesheth~~ Pelesheth can hardly have come into general currency until at least a few years after the arrival of the Philistines. Albright dates their arrival "at the beginning of the 12th century B.C." (Arch.Pal.113); a date with which Grollenberg agrees, since in his Atlas, p 159, he says that the Philistines "apparently settled in the S of the coastal plain of Palestine after 1200 B.C., following Rameses III's campaigns against the 'Peoples of the Sea'."

If, then, the reference to "the inhabitants of Palestina" in Ex 15 v 14 means the Philistines, it can hardly be older than about 1190 B.C. But on psychological grounds it is likely that the poet would not have spoken of the Philistines as being afraid, unless Israel then had good cause to be afraid of them. His words therefore point to the period of Philistine expansion and aggression. Albright (Arch.Pal.114) states that Philistine pottery "is abundant in all levels and deposits of this period (early 12th to late 11th century) in Philistia itself, and is also found in abundance in the adjacent sites of the Negeb and the Shephelah between c 1150 B.C. and the late 11th century." These arguments suggest 1150 B.C. as the earliest probable date for the Song of the Sanctuary. This is approximately 100 years before the destruction of Shiloh, and perhaps something like 80 years after the Israelite settlement on the Ephraim Hills. In actual fact, at the time of that settlement the Philistines had probably not yet arrived, so that the poet's reference to "Pelesheth" is probably an anachronism. This fits the suggestion already made, that the song was written some years after the ~~xx~~ settlement; and, as we have noted, its reference to "my father's God" points in the same direction.

The Song of the Sanctuary, therefore, is unlikely to be earlier than 1150 B.C. But its reference to "Pelesheth" makes it seem improbable that the sanctuary in question was Beth-Peor in Moab; and this is confirmed by the fact that nowhere in the OT is Beth-Peor named as a sanctuary of Yahweh. Yet there is evidence which suggests that when the men of the Exodus (whom Noth believes to have been ~~the ancestors of the Joseph group~~)

the ancestors of the Joseph-group) reached the NE corner of the Dead Sea, some of them inter-married with Moabites and adopted the Moabite cult of Baal-Peor. (Nm 25 v 1f.) Perhaps they syncretised Yahweh with Baal-Peor. In Dt 34 v 6 Moses is buried near Beth-Peor, the sanctuary of this god; and Beth-Peor appears in Jsh 13 v 20 as a town of Reuben. If these traditions are reliable, it would appear that a group of the Joseph-tribes settled here, ejecting the Reubenites, who had previously pastured their flocks on these hills and also perhaps in el-Ghor. The rest of the Joseph-group ~~crossing~~ crossed the Jordan and settled on the Ephraim Hills. Evidently they took the ark with them, since it afterwards resided at Shiloh.

Noth claims that at different periods the ark resided at Shechem (System, 67-79, 93), Bethel (GI 91), and Gilgal (Josua 33). The story in 1,2 Samuel of the wanderings of the ark shows that if it ever did reside in one or more of these places, this must have happened before it was installed at Shiloh. In favour of Gilgal and Shechem Noth cites the traditions in Joshua, while he finds the ark at Bethel in Jd 20 v 18, 26f; 21 v 2. The apocryphal nature of the story in Jd 19-21 was discussed above on p 10. Since the story in its extant form can hardly be earlier than the later Monarchy, its references to Bethel may simply reflect the ecclesiastical importance of Bethel during the divided Monarchy; while the fact that Shechem was the capital of the kings of Israel may be largely responsible for the extant form of the traditions in Jsh 24. Yet there is nothing intrinsically impossible in Noth's suggestion that the ark resided for a time in these places before it came to Shiloh. But in 1 S 1 v 7 we hear, for the first time, of the house of Yahweh; and this is followed, in 1 S 3 v 3, by a reference to the temple of Yahweh, which was evidently the same place, and was situated at Shiloh. There is no comparable tradition associated with Gilgal, Bethel, or Shechem, nor, as already remarked, with Beth-Peor. It seems clear, therefore, that the reference in the Song of Miriam to "the mountain of thine inheritance, the place, Yahweh, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in, the Sanctuary, Yahweh, which thy hands have established", can only mean either Shiloh or Jerusalem.

Jerusalem seems to be definitely excluded by the beginning of this same verse, "Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance." The poem as a whole refers to the settlement; and for long after the settlement Jerusalem was in Jebusite hands, and included in its authority the country immediately around it. Jd 1 v 21 states that the Benjamites could not capture it: Jsh 15 v 63 says the same thing of the Judahites. Moreover, Albright's evidence suggests that the song is much older than the period of David. If Jerusalem be excluded, there only remains Shiloh: and this was an obvious centre for the tribes settled on the Ephraim Hills.

It seems likely, therefore, that what the writer has termed "the Song of the Sanctuary" in Ex 15, in its earliest form, was composed for the occasion of the dedication of the temple at Shiloh, and that this was not a converted Canaanite temple, but was built by the Israelites for the express purpose of housing the ark. This conclusion supports the writer's previous suggestion that the original "Israel" consisted of the Ephraim League (i.e. the Joseph-group, including Benjamin and "Machir"), which was afterwards joined by the other tribes of the north and east. The Song of Deborah shows that the primary purpose of the Israelite League was national defence, and that its members believed that their victories were won with the help of Yahweh.

the help of Yahweh. The words in 1 S 4 v 3, "Let us fetch the ark of the covenant of Yahweh out of Shiloh unto us, that, when it cometh among us, it may save us out of the hand of our enemies", confirm this, and incidentally suggest that the songs of the ark in Nm 10 v 35,36 date from the age of Samuel, if not before. Noth is surely right in his contention (System, 95f) that Yahweh was essentially the league-God of Israel. This confirmed by the well-known formula, "Yahweh, God of hosts", which occurs frequently in the OT, including four references in 1 Sam and one in Isaiah's "Sanctus" in Is 6 v 3. Alt (Kl.Schr.I 350) remarks that visions of the kind described in Is 6 tend to present themselves to the visionary in forms that have long been familiar to him; so that Isaiah's Sanctus is probably much older than his own day, being, probably, a part of the temple-liturgy which he had known all his life. It is true that later Hebrew thought regarded the "hosts" as supernatural beings; but in the first instance they probably signified the army of the Israelite league. In the four Books of Kings, the ark makes its last appearance in 1 K 8, when Solomon dedicates the temple. Its last recorded appearance on the battlefield is in 1 S 14, when Saul orders it to be brought out (v 18), and consequently staves off a Philistine attack (v 23). We may fairly conclude that the phrase, "Yahweh God of Hosts", is at least as old as Saul, and probably dates back to the Shiloh regime.

Chapter 7. THE WANDERINGS OF THE ARK.

Two references to the ark, in Jd 20 v 27 and 1 S 14 v 18, are of special interest for our purpose, because they support the theories of the two kingdoms put forth in the previous chapters and suggested by the evidence in the Song of Deborah. In Jd 20 v 27 we read, "And the children of Israel enquired of Yahweh. For the ark of the Covenant of God was there (i.e. in the northern league-territory) in those days." And in 1 S 14 v 18, Saul says, "Bring hither the ark of God;" and the narrator adds, "For the ark of God was at that time with the children of Israel." This last sentence can only make sense if the expression "the children of Israel" excludes the men of Judah. And it is evident from these sentences that the men of the north, during the Monarchy, did not regard Jerusalem as a proper cult-centre for the two kingdoms combined. They felt that the ark had been stolen from them, and that its rightful historical place was in the northern kingdom. No doubt these two quotations may owe much to late editors; and the first of them comes from that story of the war with Gibeah which, as we saw, probably contains a historical kernel mingled with a considerable quantity of apocryphal extravagance. Yet the similarity of the two quotations, coming, as they do, from totally different contexts, is very impressive, and gives to the sentences underlined above the ring of truth.

These conclusions are further confirmed by a curious hiatus in the saga of the ark's wanderings. (See Map I.) This saga admittedly contains some fantastic elements; but it also gives the impression of being based essentially upon historical truth. For example, the destruction of Shiloh (the whole town, as well as the sanctuary) has been confirmed by the archaeologists (Albright, Arch.Pal.113), who excavated the ruins, and dated their destruction about 1050 B.C., or shortly after. Then again, the OT states that after this destruction the Philistines retained the ark for seven months, after which it found its way first to Beth-Shemesh and then to Kirjath-Jearim, where it remained for 20 years. During this time "all the house of Israel lamented after Yahweh" (1 S 7 v 2); and Samuel called the people to repentance and promised them a deliverer. Then Saul was crowned, and under his leadership Israel began to win victories over the Philistines. Thus, the OT dates Saul's coronation approximately 20 years after the destruction of Shiloh; and this is also the dating of the archaeologists. And in many details also the story seems to bear the impress of ~~the~~ truth; for example, in the simple arrangements, described in 1 S 7 v 1, for the custody of the ark after its return from Philistia. It is lodged in a private house in the charge of only one man. This, naturally, is a point which the archaeologists cannot verify; but Albright speaks of the simplicity of Saul's palace at Gibeah, and says that there was little change in the Israelite way of life before Solomon. (Arch.Pal.120-123.)

These considerations encourage one to quote the evidence of this saga with considerable confidence. And at two points in the narrative a curious discrepancy emerges. In 1 S 7 v 1,2, the ark is brought to Kirjath-Jearim, and there it stays for twenty years in the house of Abinadab. In 2 S 6 v 3, David, preparing to transport the ark to Jerusalem, has it brought out of the house of Abinadab - at Gibeah! It is, of course, unnecessary to assume that Abinadab's house was built upon a magic carpet. The simple explanation must be that throughout Saul's reign, or at least the greater portion of it, the ark had been stationed at Gibeah, in the **custody** of the same family that had taken charge of it at Kirjath-Jearim. David did not rescue the ark from the Philistines; it had been rescued years ago. He simply removed it from Saul's capital to his own: and it is not hard to guess

the name which the men of the north would give to that removal.

He did not get very far with it. In 2 S 6 v 6f we read, "And when they came to Nachon's threshingfloor, Uzzah (Abinadab's son) put forth his hand to the ark of God, and took hold of it; for the oxen shook it. And the anger of Yahweh was kindled against Uzzah: and God smote him there for his error; and there he died by the ark of God. And David was displeased, because Yahweh had made a breach upon Uzzah; and he called the name of the place Perez-Uzzah to this day."

This is an aetiological story, centred upon a place-name. We might dismiss the entire story as a fiction, were it not for the fact, already mentioned, that the saga of the ark's wanderings seems to rest upon a solid historical foundation. Behind the supernatural incident here related may well lie a true incident. Perhaps the men of the north refused to surrender the ark, and a skirmish followed in which David was defeated, but Uzzah, one of the custodians of the ark, lost his life in defending the sacred relic. It is evident that the ~~wik~~ narrator (who, presumably, was a Judaeen, anxious that his story should redound to the glory of David as well as of Yahweh) is "soft-peddling" as hard as he can. He glides lightly over the two uncomfortable facts that David carried the ark away from Gibeah, and that he did not succeed in carrying it very far. According to 1 Chr 15, at his second attempt David took care to provide himself with a strong bodyguard.

In all this saga of the wanderings of the ark, there is not the least hint that it had ever resided at Shechem. As previously remarked, Noth (System 67-79,93) regards Shechem as having been the first home of the ark in Palestine, and the first cultic centre of the ~~king~~ Israelite league. And certainly the fact that Jeroboam I made Shechem his capital, taken in conjunction with his evident desire to win the devotion of his people by his strict orthodoxy, makes it probable that Shechem had been a league-centre of Israel at some earlier date. Shechem is a recurrent theme in the OT, yet always a somewhat elusive one. In Gn 34 we have the misty incident of the Shechem massacre, which, in view of the denunciation of Simeon and Levi in Gn 49, seems likely to have some foundation in fact. In Dt 27 Moses prescribes a blessing and cursing rite on Ebal and Gerizim, the twin hills by Shechem, a rite fulfilled by Joshua (with minor discrepancies) in Jsh 8, and also, presumably, in Jsh 24. In Jd 9 Shechem is again "in the news", when the men of that city make their kinsman Abimelech king. What makes this incident so intriguing and yet so elusive, is the fact, stated in Jd 9 v 4, that the men of Shechem gave Abimelech "threescore and ten pieces of silver out of the house of Baalberith, wherewith Abimelech hired vain and light persons, which followed him." He proceeds to a hideous blood-purge, which eventually proves his undoing. But this does not alter the fact that the men of the north may well have regarded Abimelech as the first king of Israel. And his coronation appears in close association with the temple of Baal-Berith ("the Lord of the Covenant") at Shechem, the scene of that rite, real or imaginary, in which Joshua made a covenant between Yahweh and Israel.

We have already observed the delicate camouflage which the OT historians occasionally lay over the facts which they purport to relate. Two more instances of that camouflage pertain closely to this matter of Abimelech's coronation. The first is the fact that Gideon, Abimelech's father, was also called Jerubbaal (Jd 8 v 35; 9 v 1): the second is the further fact that Saul's son, who succeeded him upon the throne of Israel, was called "Ish-bosheth", which is the OT narrator's deliberate corruption of "Ishbaal". To these facts we may add the statement in

Jd 8 v 33, that as soon as Gideon was dead the Israelites "made Baal-Berith their god". Abimelech, then, was crowned at Shechem under the auspices of a god of the Israelites known as "the Lord of the Covenant". The writer would suggest that this was, in fact, no idolatry, but a simple syncretism of Yahweh, God of Israel, with Baal-Berith, God of Shechem. And Shechem, as Alt (Kl. Schr. I 108) reminds us, was probably the capital of Labaja's old kingdom in the days before the Israelite settlement; and that settlement in its earliest stages probably occupied more or less the lands over which Labaja had ruled.

Thus, it seems possible that Abimelech took the bold step of converting what was previously, perhaps, a treaty of friendship with Shechem, into a kingdom based upon the support of that town, in wealth and man-power. It was a plan that deserved better success than it enjoyed; and had Abimelech not been faced with the necessity, real or imagined, of murdering his relatives, he might well have been remembered as the first king of Israel, instead of ~~the~~ being execrated as a tyrant. Indeed, it seems not impossible that in his story as told in Judges we are not really viewing him through the eyes of the northerners in general. Perhaps Abimelech, with all his faults, was in fact remembered as the first king of Israel, Saul being the second, Ishbaal the third, and David and Solomon foreign usurpers, so that for Jeroboam I, anxious to win the confidence of his people, the foundation laid by Abimelech was the obvious one on which to build.

This theory becomes more interesting when we consider the statement in Jd 9 v 46, that when Shechem revolted and Abimelech besieged it, the inhabitants barricaded themselves in "an hold of the house of the god Berith". In the Hebrew this reads "of El-Berith": and despite the fact that in Ugaritic literature El and Baal are distinct gods, one can hardly believe that Shechem contained two prominent temples, one dedicated to Baal-Berith and the other to El-Berith. It seems more likely that in the Shechem of Abimelech's day the two ancient gods El and Baal (both, by derivation, general terms rather than individualised names, though apparently individualised in the Ugaritic literature) had become fused into one, and identified with Yahweh. And if this was so, it is interesting to discover that in the Ugaritic literature El is a bull-god. (Hooke, "The Origins of Early Semitic Ritual", p 32.) May we, perhaps, ~~conclude~~ infer that when Jeroboam I dedicated the calves in the formula, "Behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt", he was simply expressing the equation, "El is Yahweh"? It is undeniable that the OT writers themselves sometimes ~~add~~ apply to God the title "El"; though, of course, it could be argued that in these cases they use the word El in a purely general sense, and not as a personal name. In any case, it seems not impossible that we can see in Abimelech's coronation at Shechem the precedent both for some of Jeroboam I's arrangements and for those later literary traditions which describe Joshua as binding Israel in a covenant with Yahweh at a league-meeting held at Shechem.

Of this story Moore (ICC Judges 239) writes, "Many scholars see in the story a kind of prelude to the history of the kingdom of Saul. Gideon, it is said, was in fact king in Ophrah, whatever we may think of ch 8 v 22f; that his sons would succeed him is a matter of course (9 v 2); Abimelech is formally created king (9 v 6), and reigns over Israelites ~~(tribes)~~ (Joseph) as well as Canaanites; a short-lived Manassite kingdom thus preceded the Benjamite kingdom of Saul. All ~~this~~ this shows that Israel was feeling its way toward a stronger and more stable form of government. (Wellhausen, 'Die Composition des Hexateuchs'; Kittel, 'Geschichte der Hebräer'; and especially Stade, 'Geschichte des Volkes Israel'.)

There seems to me to be some exaggeration in this." Moore goes on to point out that in fact Abimelech was only king of one city, and that it does not necessarily follow that his rule was recognised by purely Israelite towns or clans.

This is undoubtedly true. Yet Abimelech was obviously an ambitious man, for whom the kingship of Shechem was fairly certainly only the first step in a much wider plan. It seems probable that the transition to a united kingdom, here as in other lands and times, proceeded by stages, so that one can hardly say where the monarchy really began. The rustic simplicity of Saul's and David's arrangements, as revealed by archaeology, have already been mentioned; and the OT narrative itself shows that both men were charismatic leaders, who owed their careers to their success in battle, as did the two triumvirates of Rome. And both David and Saul were practical and statesmanlike enough to realise that they were essentially democratic leaders rather than absolute monarchs. The Bible-historian makes the fantastic statement that David only committed one sin in his life. In 1 K 15 v 5 we read, "David did that which was right in the eyes of Yahweh, and turned not aside from anything that he commanded him all the days of his life, save only in the matter of Uriah the Hittite." We may fairly interpret this as meaning that only once did David infringe the liberties of his people, as these were sanctioned by the cult of Yahweh, the God of the old league of Israel. The monarchy, in fact, both in Israel and in Judah, was based on an old tribal league (though the writer believes Judah to have had its own separate league); and the kings of Israel and Judah were expected to remember the democratic principles for which those leagues had stood. Thus, for the people in general, the presence of the ark in the royal capital probably signified that the king was invested with Yahweh's authority, but was also subject to Yahweh's law. Since Jeroboam I made Shechem his capital, and since Abimelech had been king of Shechem in days of old, the tradition of later years would find it natural to believe that Shechem was the ark's first home in Palestine, though in fact there seems to be no reliable evidence that the ark had ever resided at Shechem.

Reverting to the wanderings of the ark, in 1 S 7 v 2 we read that during the twenty years when the ark was at Kirjath-Jearim "all the house of Israel lamented after Yahweh." At first sight this seems odd, since at Kirjath-Jearim the ark was surely on Israelite soil. But in 1 S 1 v 3 we read of an annual feast of Yahweh of hosts in Shiloh; and Jd 21 v 19f makes it clear that this feast was connected with the vine-industry, and also with something strongly reminiscent of the "sacred marriage" which is a familiar feature in ancient religion in the near East in general and in Ugaritic literature in particular. These references to Shiloh seem to reveal the same type of syncretism that we had suspected at Shechem, and which Alt (Kl. Schr. I 29f) has inferred by analogy with near-east inscriptions of the last centuries B.C. and the first centuries A.D. The bringing of the ark on to the battlefield is a mere relic of the old, scarcely-remembered life of the wilderness. Since remote antiquity, as it probably seemed to the people of Shechem, though actually perhaps little longer than a century, the ark had resided there and had been the centre of the local annual wine-festival. To all this the destruction of Shiloh by the Philistines had put a stop. But it was not merely the men of Shiloh who mourned its destruction: we are told that all Israel mourned. This seems to indicate that although pre-monarchic Israel was a federation of tribes, it had its capital and league-centre in Shiloh. The rescue

of the ark from Philistia could not rebuild Shiloh.

The Israelites had, indeed, plenty of reason to mourn. On p 67 of his Atlas Grollenberg remarks, of this destruction of Shiloh, "The Philistines obviously exploited the victory to the full. From scattered information in the Biblical account, we may conclude that they gained control of all the mountain region and established many garrisons and strong-points." These conclusions are confirmed by the evidence relating to Samuel's circuit, which is described in 1 S 7 v 15-17. Having related the fall of Shiloh and the return of the ark as far as Kirjath-Jearim, followed by Samuel's call of Israel to repentance, his promise of a deliverer, and his supernatural (and apocryphal?) victory over the Philistines, the narrator tells us, "And Samuel judged Israel all the days of his life. And he went from year to year in circuit to Bethel, and Gilgal, and Mizpeh, and judged Israel in all those places. And his return was to Ramah; for there was his house."

There were in Palestine several Gilgals, Mizpehs (or Mizpahs), and Ramahs. Scholars seem inclined to identify this Gilgal with the one near Jericho, which figures so prominently in Joshua. But the writer of 1 S 7 v 15-17 does not say which Gilgal he means. It seems clear, however, that the saga of Samuel, with its antipathy towards the king and its concentration of interest upon the figure of the prophet, is closely akin to the sagas of Elijah and Elisha; and the obvious persons to have reserved and transmitted all these sagas are the colleges of prophets, probably during the late northern monarchy. These prophets had a college at Carmel, another at Jericho, and one at Gilgal. Many scholars regard the second and third as identical, the Gilgal in question being the Jericho one. But this makes Elijah's last journey (2 K 2) hard to follow. Starting from Gilgal, Elijah proceeds to Bethel, then to Jericho (where he meets "the sons of the prophets that were at Jericho"), and finally over Jordan. Despite the supernatural features of this story, we may fairly take it that it follows a trail familiar to the prophets who narrated it. This trail makes Bethel an intermediate point between Gilgal and Jericho. Speaking of this particular Gilgal in the stories of Elijah and Elisha, Grollenberg (Atlas 150) says, "Some scholars identify it with the Jericho Gilgal. Others situate it at Jiljiliyeh, 7 miles north of Bethel; similar doubts arise over the Gilgal condemned with Bethel as a place of unlawful worship (Am 4 v 4; 5 v 5; Hos 4 v 15)." The Lexicon recognises the dwelling of the prophets in 2 K 2 v 1; 4 v 38 to be Jiljiliyeh, but identifies the Gilgal of Samuel's circuit with the Jericho Gilgal. Smith (ICC Sam. 54) merely remarks that Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah were all known as sanctuaries. The scholars, therefore, mainly suspend judgement; and it would ill become the present writer to dogmatise. Yet it seems simpler and more reasonable to assume that the Gilgal prominent in 1 Samuel is the one near Shiloh, in the heart of Israel, than to imagine a constant coming and going to and from that desolate region down in the abyss of the Jordan. And the references in 2 K 2 suggest that the Gilgal of the college of prophets was the high-level one at Jiljiliyeh, the one at Jericho being referred to as Jericho, not Gilgal. Since we hear in 2 K 2 v 5 of the prophets at Jericho, it seems unlikely that there was another college of prophets only a mile or so away at the Jericho-Gilgal. This being so, Samuel's Gilgal was surely the one near Shiloh. What more natural than that the traditions of Samuel should be preserved by prophets living at the very place that had once formed part of his circuit? The writer therefore ventures to identify Samuel's Gilgal with Jiljiliyeh.

Since "Gilgal" means a stone circle, and such circles (doubtless of Chalcolithic origin) were common in ancient Palestine, it is not surprising that their location should sometimes cause difficulties. Over Mizpeh or Mizpah ("watch-tower") there seems to be much less trouble, despite the fact that there appear to have been almost as many Mizpehs in ancient Palestine as there are Newcastles in modern Britain. For the Mizpeh of Samuel's circuit, the scholars suggest two sites; but fortunately they are only $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles apart. These are ~~N~~ Nebi Samwil and Er-Ram. One would have guessed that the former, commemorating, as it does, the name of the prophet, was the Mizpeh of his circuit, and Er-Ram his home-town of Ramah. But Grollenberg identifies Er-Ram as Mizpeh, and locates Ramah (in 1 S 1 v 1, Ramathaim-Zophim, "the twin heights of Zuph") at Rentis, 15 miles WNW of Bethel. The writer has followed Grollenberg's judgement. (See Map ~~II~~ I.)

If the above conclusions can be accepted, Samuel's circuit stretched north and south along the Ephraimite ridgeway in a line exactly twelve miles long! When we contrast this tiny distance with the area occupied by the tribes mentioned in the Song of Deborah, it is only too clear that in those twenty odd years between the fall of Shiloh and Saul's first victories, Israel had indeed sunk low. It might, of course, be argued that "Israel" really resulted from a slow build-up; but even if we treat the alleged defection of several tribes in Jd 5 as a mere late fancy (which seems unlikely), the area occupied by the six tribes who fought at Megiddo was still far greater than that covered by Samuel's circuit. It seems evident that after the fall of Shiloh the Philistines cut off the Ephraimite tribes from their Galilaean colleagues, so that Samuel's movements were perforce restricted to Benjamin and southern Ephraim. Here was ample reason for Israel to mourn while the ark remained at Kirjath-Jearim. Evidently they had to bewail the loss of much land, but especially, perhaps, that of their old capital of Shiloh.

The evidence relating to Abimelech, examined above, suggests that while, no doubt, a covenant-relationship between Yahweh and His people was a fundamental conception of the league from the first, it may have received special prominence after Abimelech was crowned under the aegis of Baal-Berith at Shechem. The titles of the ark in Judges and 1,2 Samuel reveal a gradual build-up of the cultic formula, reflecting, perhaps, the increasing prominence of the covenant-doctrine in Israelite thought, as shown by the following digest:-

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <hr/> | |
| (1) The ark. 1S7v2; 2S11v11 | |
| (2) The ark of Yahweh. 1S4v6; 5v3,4; 6v1,2,8,11,15,18,19,21; 7v1; 2S6v3,9-17 | (2a) The ark of God (Elohim). 1S3v3; 4v11,13, 17-22; 5v1,2,10; 14v8; 2S6v2-4,6,7,12; 7v2; 15v24,25,29. |
| | (2b) The ark of the God (elohe) of Israel. 1S5v8,10,11. |
| (3) The ark of the covenant of Yahweh. 1S4v3,5. | (3a) The ark of the covenant of God. Jd20v27; 1S4v4b; 2S15v24. |
| <hr/> | |
| (4) The ark of the covenant of Yahweh of Hosts. 1S4v4a. | |
| (5) The ark of God, whose name is called by the name of Yahweh of hosts that dwelleth between the cherubims. 2S6v2. | |
| <hr/> | |

It is possible that the longer formulae in this table owe something to late redactors: but the whole tenor of the Song of Deborah leaves little room for doubt that the sublime doctrine of the covenant, which is the heart and soul of Judaism, was already acknowledged by Israel in the days of the Judges; and that in this doctrine lay the seeds of Israel's future greatness.

Chapter 8. EPHRAIM.

The Song of Deborah contains many textual corruptions, which are mostly crowded into verses 8-15. As noted above, this means that the song was probably copied from some old song-book, one page of which had grown almost illegible with age. The same is the case with the Lament for Saul, which we know to have been extracted from the Book of Jasher. These facts confirm the high antiquity of these songs, but do not assist in the examination of the evidence which they have to offer! In the Song of Deborah, the corrupt section covers the second half of the section dealing with the causes leading up to the battle, and the first half of the roll-call of tribes absent and present at the fight. Thus, the references to Shamgar and Deborah in v 6,7, and the fact that Reuben, Gilead, Dan, and Asher were absent, while Zebulun and Naphtali were present, are not affected by the corrupt section. But textual uncertainties cloud the references to Ephraim, "Amalek", Benjamin, "Machir", Zebulun, and Issachar, in v 14,15.

Scholars generally accept the readings of the tribal names in these verses, with the exception of Amalek, for which most of them substitute "emeq", i.e. "valley". It should be noted, however, that although there certainly was an old feud between Israel and Amalek, it probably belonged to the Negeb, and is unlikely to have had any connection with the campaign against Sisera. Consequently, it is hard to believe that any scribe would have introduced the name Amalek as a textual emendation. The very oddness of this reference to Amalek as living in the heart of central Palestine predisposes one to accept it as a true reading. And we have confirmation of this in the brief notice of Abdon, a minor judge, in Jd 12 v 13-15. This notice is of a type fairly common in the OT, introducing irrelevant information, serving no obvious purpose of propaganda or religious instruction, not aetiological, nor telling some popular tale - and therefore likely to be based on true fact. It informs us that Abdon had 40 sons and 30 nephews who rode on 70 asses, and that he was buried "in Pirathon in the land of Ephraim, in the mount of the Amalekites". Whether or no Abdon's family was as large as this, the location of his grave is probably correct; and its wording implies that "the mount of the Amalekites" was a well-known locality in central Palestine. Grollenberg (Atlas, p 159) says that Pirathon is probably identical with Pharathon, mentioned in 1 Mac 9 v 50; and he locates it about 8 miles WSW of Shechem. If there really was a colony of Amalekites there during the period of the Judges, it was probably quite small, and it probably threw in its lot with Ephraim in the fight against Sisera. If so, the preposition B-, attached to the name Amalek in Jd 5 v 14, must surely mean "with" rather than "against", as the AV translates it. For our present purpose, the chief interest of this evidence is that it supports Noth's theory (GI 113, & esp. 102) that the tribes were territorial divisions rather than genealogical ones.

This theory is linked with Noth's other theory that Naphtali, Ephraim, and Judah are originally names of hills, the "sons of Naphtali" etc being later applications of these names (i.e. later than the settlement) to those Israelites and Judahites who settled on these hills. The OT use of the phrases "the land of Ephraim" (see the above reference to Abdon) and "the mountain of Ephraim" (Jd 3 v 27) seems to confirm Noth's view. And both in the Song of Deborah and in 2 S 2 v 9 and elsewhere, the use of the name Gilead to include (as apparently it does) all Transjordan Israelites, points in the same direction. Then again, although the OT tradition is unanimous that the Ephraimites and the Benjamites belonged to the same general tribal group, Ephraim and Benjamin are separately

mentioned, doubtless because they developed as independent territorial units. Of a comprehensive Joseph- or Rachel-group we hear nothing, either in Jd 5 or in 2 S 2 v 9. Broadly speaking, the three books of Judges and 1,2 Samuel display little consciousness of or interest in genealogies, but are essentially practical in their outlook, describing the Israelites in terms of their actual geographical divisions.

That this presentation of the facts in Judges and 1,2 Samuel ~~is~~ is true to reality, is surely demonstrated by a comparison of the tribal divisions in Jd 5 with those in 2 S 2 v 9, which describes Ishbaal's kingdom. In the following table, D indicates the Song of Deborah: I, Ishbaal's kingdom.

D: Gilead, Reuben;	Asher, Dan, Naphtali, Zebulun;	Issachar;	Machir, Ephraim;	Benjamin.
I: Gilead,	the Ashurites,	Jezreel,	Ephraim,	Benjamin.

The second list is the logical development of the first. We see in it the fruit of that same process of union and consolidation which we can trace in other nations and other ages. If, as seems probable, Reuben occupied the area near Jericho, while also sending emigrants to Transjordan, it would naturally become absorbed into Benjamin and Gilead. Machir, similarly, would become absorbed into Ephraim; and the wealthy and influential sea-ports of Asher would naturally tend to dominate Galilee. (This assumes that Ashur = Asher.)

The statement in Jd 1 v 21 that the Benjamites failed to capture Jerusalem, plus the after-thought in 1 K 12 v 21, where the narrator, having stated that no tribe supported Rehoboam save Judah, suddenly remembers that Benjamin also supported him, both suggest that David's conquest of Jerusalem led to a Judahite encroachment upon Benjamin, which ended in a split, southern Benjamin supporting Rehoboam while the northern half became absorbed into Ephraim. If the men of Ephraim took their tribal name from the hills on which they settled, then that name could cover Manasseh and Benjamin as well, if political changes warranted it. The name Benjamin, "son of the south", was common in the ancient east, and in this case may simply have differentiated those Ephraimites who lived on the southern border of Ephraim, just as all natives of Scotland are Scots, but only those living near the Border are Borderers. This would explain the extraordinary strip-like shape of Benjamin, which seems to have extended westward from Jericho in a narrow band up into the hills.

As Benjamin was the core of Saul's kingdom, so, apparently, Ephraim was the core of the kingdom of Jeroboam I and his successors, so that the Minor Prophets (especially Hosea) commonly use the name "Ephraim" to signify the northern kingdom as a whole. Already in the period of the Judges it appears to dominate all the northern tribes, as witness the fact that the Ephraimites, on different occasions, threatened both Gideon of Manasseh-West (Jd 8 v 1) and Jephthah of Gilead (Jd 12 v 1) with reprisals, for daring to make war without their assent and aid. And in Jd 5 Ephraim is named first of all the tribes, though the highest praise for valour goes to Zebulun and Naphtali, who, the poet admits, bore the brunt of the fighting. (V 14, 18.) Ephraim also takes precedence over Machir and Benjamin, the other members of the Rachel-group. This harmonises with the fact, already noticed, that Shiloh lay in the centre of the Ephraim Hills, and strongly suggests that the original nucleus of the united Israelite league was an Ephraimite league, centred on the sanctuary of Yahweh at Shiloh. The evidence previously examined suggests that, even if the Kenites also implanted Yahwism in the Negeb, in the main it was the ancestors of the Ephraimites who brought the Yahweh-cult into Palestine.

This mention of the Yahweh-cult is not the sudden irrelevance that it might appear to be. OT tradition is emphatic that the worship of Yahweh was the source of Israel's vigour and inspiration. More than this: it was Yahweh's covenant-love for Israel, demonstrated in Egypt and sealed at Sinai, that shaped Israel's history and set her apart from her neighbours. So say the OT writers; and in his *Archeology of Palestine*, p 119, Albright writes, "The archaeologist with no knowledge of biblical tradition would have to acknowledge some binding and driving force in Israel which differentiated it from ordinary nomadic invaders, like the tribes which overran Transjordan periodically and lived there in tents for centuries without settling down." The sceptic is under the necessity of explaining the coincidence that the tribal group which was centred upon the worship of Yahweh at Shiloh was also the nucleus around which the northern kingdom was built.

In addition to evidence already examined, the witness of the Minor Prophets strikingly supports Noth's belief (System 70) that only the Joseph-group came out of Egypt. The pre-exilic Minor Prophets who refer to the Exodus are Hosea, Amos, and Micah; but as Micah's prophecies are addressed to both kingdoms, his evidence does not help us. Amos opens with a series of doom-songs, including separate songs of Judah and Israel. Harper (ICC Amos 44) quotes the opinion of many older scholars that the Judah-song is a late insertion, the Israel-song having been intended to cover both kingdoms; a view which Harper himself doubts. If the Judah-song is original, it is certainly a striking fact that the references to the Exodus come in the Israel-song which follows it. And the repeated references to ~~Sagittaria which is the name of the plant which grows in the mountains of the north~~ (Am 9, 12; 4 v 1) and Samaria (Am 3 v 9, 12; 4 v 1) and Bethel (Am 3 v 14; 4 v 4; 5 v 5) which follow the pronouncement of Israel's doom, suggest that whether or not the Judah-song be a late insertion, the Israel-song is addressed specifically to the northern kingdom. This conclusion is supported by the words of Amaziah the priest of Bethel to Amos: "Go, flee thee away into the land of Judah, and there eat bread, and prophesy there: but prophesy not again any more at Bethel: for it is the king's chapel, and it is the king's court." And if the Judah-song is in fact a late insertion, this seems to suggest that the compilers of Amos' sayings knew that they referred only to the northern kingdom, and wished to extend them to the southern kingdom as well.

In the case of Hosea, the matter surely admits of no doubt. In Hos 1 v 4 we read, "I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu, and will cause to cease the kingdom of the house of Israel" - that play upon "Jezreel" and ~~the name of the house of Israel~~ "Israel" noticed in a previous chapter. Here, undoubtedly, Israel means the northern kingdom. And in v 6 & 7 of the same chapter we read, "I will no more have mercy upon the house of Israel; but I will utterly take them away. But I will have mercy upon the house of Judah, and will save them..." - a prophecy which corresponds to the historical facts, since Judah survived Israel's downfall by more than a century. Again, unquestionably, Hosea uses the name Israel to mean only the northern kingdom. When, therefore, we find that his references to the Exodus are coupled with the names of Israel, Samaria, and Ephraim, but not with Judah or Jerusalem, we have a very impressive witness to the truth of Noth's assertion that only the Joseph-group came out of Egypt. The texts in question are quoted below:-

Hos 9 v 3. They shall not dwell in Yahweh's land; but Ephraim shall return to

Egypt, and they shall eat unclean things in Assyria.

11 v 1. When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt. (This is followed in v 8 by the parallelism, "How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? how shall I deliver thee, Israel?")

12 v 8,9. Ephraim said, Yet I am become rich...And I, Yahweh thy God from the land of Egypt, will yet make thee to dwell in tabernacles.

13 v 1-4. When Ephraim spake trembling, he exalted himself in Israel; but when he offended in Baal, he died...Yet I am Yahweh thy God from the land of Egypt, and thou shalt know no god but me. (Cf. the opening words of the Decalogue, Ex 20 v 2,3.)

The testimony of the Psalms is much harder to assess, since here problems of date and place of origin can so rarely be solved with any assurance. Ps 78, which Briggs (ICC Psalms) assigns to the reign of Josiah, gives a long account of Israel's history, leading up to the accession of David, and says, significantly, (v 67,68) "He (Yahweh) refused the tabernacle of Joseph, and chose not the tribe of Ephraim: but chose the tribe of Judah, the mount Zion which he loved." This evidently refers to David's installation of the ark at Jerusalem, and seems to support Noth's theory; all the more so because it was evidently written by a Judahite. It states implicitly that the ark was originally in the possession of Joseph/Ephraim at Shiloh. Ps 80 is even more impressive. It mentions Israel, Joseph, Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh, but not Judah or Jerusalem, so that it is evidently of northern origin. And in v 1 it addresses Yahweh as "Thou that leadest Joseph like a flock"; while in v 8 it says, "Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt." Ps 81 similarly mentions Israel, Jacob, and Joseph, but not Judah or Jerusalem; and in v 5 of this Psalm we read, "This he (Yahweh) ordained in Joseph for a testimony, when he went out through the land of Egypt." In v 8-10 we find a passage closely parallel to the opening of the Decalogue in Ex 20 v 2,3, which, as we saw, Hosea also echoes: "Hear, O my people, and I will testify unto thee: O Israel, if thou wilt hearken unto me; there shall no strange god be in thee; neither shalt thou worship any strange god. I am Yahweh thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt: open thy mouth wide, and I will fill it."

Pss 105 & 106, which also describe the Exodus, do not ~~xxx~~ mention any tribe or city, but speak simply of Jacob and Israel. Pss 135 & 136 do the same, apart from the threefold doxology at the end of Ps 135, which could easily be a separate unit not originally attached to the psalm. The difficulty comes when we examine Ps 114, which begins, "When Israel came out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a people of strange language, Judah was his sanctuary, and Israel his dominion." Briggs (ICC Psalms) assigns this psalm to the Greek period. If this dating is correct, it eases the difficulty, since post-exilic Israel, whether of Israelite or of Judahite descent, would rightly feel that the Exodus by that time had become part of their joint national heritage. There is, however, a modern tendency to date many of the Psalms earlier than the older scholars were inclined to do. A question-mark must therefore be set against Ps 114 so far as Noth's theory of the Exodus is concerned. But the other evidence quoted above, from the Psalter and from Hosea and Amos, does seem impressive when it is reviewed in mass.

In general, then, the biblical evidence seems to support Noth's theory of the Exodus. His theory of the Covenant seems more doubtful. In his "System" he ~~develops~~ develops at length the thesis that when the Joseph-group reached Palestine they at once expanded a pre-existing Leah-six group to a full twelve-tribe League (including Judah), and pledged it to the worship of Yahweh, as described in Jsh 24. That some ancient covenant-rite underlies Jsh 24, seems fairly certain. But the present writer would suggest that since the ark had resided at Shiloh but probably not at Shechem, whereas both Abimelech and Jeroboam I were crowned at Shechem, this covenant-rite may have formed part of Jeroboam's coronation, thbeing based partly on the doctrines and practices of the old Ephraimite league, and partly on local Shechem-traditions dating back to Abimelech or even earlier. The fact (if we accept it as such) that there had once been a covenant-rite at Shechem, does not in itself suffice to prove who precisely were the original parties to the covenant. And the general picture presented by Judges is that of a number of tribal groups gradually feeling their way towards union. To illustrate this point, a table of the wars described in Judges is given below:-

W A R S I N " J U D G E S "			
Text	Enemy	Judge	Tribes Involved
3 v 8-10	Chushan-rishathaim kg of Mesopotamia	Othniel of Debir	? "Israel"
3 v 12-30	Eglon kg of Moab	Ehud of Benjamin	Men of "the mount of Ephraim"
4 v 2,10,23	Jabin kg of Hazor	Barak of Kedesh-Naphtali	Zebulun and Naphtali
5	Sisera of Harosheth	Barak of K-N	Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir, Zebulun, Issachar, Naphtali
6-8	Midian, Amalek, & "sons of the East"	Gideon of Abiezer	1. Manasseh, Asher, Zebulun. 2. Man. only. 3. Abiezer only.
10v17-11v33	Ammon	Jephthah of Gilead	Gilead

Othniel's exploit is included for the sake of completeness: but its historical basis is uncertain: and as it belongs to the events of the ~~Negev~~ Negeb, its discussion may be deferred until later. The Gideon-saga is complex, and appears to contain three conflated accounts of the muster:-

Jd 6 v 34b (A)	v 35a (B)	v 35b (C)
And he blew a trumpet; and Abiezer was gathered after him.	And he sent messengers throughout all Manasseh; who also was gathered after him.	And he sent messengers unto Asher, & unto Zebulun, & unto Naphtali; & they came up to meet them

Possibly Gideon led three campaigns of differing size, which tradition has fused into one. If so, we have a record of seven campaigns (omitting that of Othniel), fought with the following forces:-

- One clan: Abiezer.
- One tribe: (1) Ephraim. (2) Manasseh. (3) Gilead.
- Two tribes: Zebulun and Naphtali.
- Four tribes: Asher, Zebulun, Naphtali, Manasseh.
- Six tribes: Issachar, Zebulun, Naphtali, Machir, Ephraim, Benjamin.

Here, surely, is a clear demonstration that the unity of Israel, like that of many other nations - one might say, most other nations - was built up in stages. If Judges and 1,2 Samuel had been the only parts of the OT preserved to us, would anyone have thought it probable that Israel, immediately after its settlement in Palestine, had formed a complete twelve-tribe system?

There is in Israel's arrangements, as disclosed by Judges, an element of improvisation. One has the impression that the various tribal combines were formed as circumstances suggested: as, indeed, one would naturally expect. It is generally recognised that many of Israel's military leaders were charismatic. The crisis called forth the man of the hour; and the people followed him because they recognised his worth. Apparently such leaders could exercise considerable discretion as to whom they called, as the following quotations show:-

Jd 3 v 27. He (Ehud) blew a trumpet in the mountain of Ephraim, and the children of Israel went down with him from the mount, and he before them.

Jd 6 v 34. But the Spirit of Yahweh came upon Gideon, and he blew a trumpet; and Abiezer was gathered after him. (In the other versions he sends messengers.)

1 S 11 v 6,7. And the Spirit of God came upon Saul when he heard those tidings, and his anger was kindled greatly. And he took a yoke of oxen, and hewed them in pieces, and sent them throughout all the coasts of Israel by the hands of ~~mess~~ messengers, saying, Whosoever cometh not forth after Saul and after Samuel, so shall it be done unto his oxen. And the fear of Yahweh fell on the people, and they came out with one consent.

Allowing for later literary editing, especially, perhaps, in the case of those three suspicious-looking words, "and after Samuel", there is no doubt that ~~we~~ we have here relics of ancient Israelite rites and formulae, used in declaring a league-war. But evidently the sending round of pieces of oxen (like the fiery cross of the Highlands) betokened a much larger muster than the blowing of a trumpet. The arrangements, therefore, were flexible. Gideon's exploits are especially interesting. They are surely later than the battle of Megiddo; yet even in his largest campaign, although he calls out the Galilaeen tribes, he ignores Ephraim - greatly to their annoyance, as we have seen. The operation of the Israelite league does not seem to be very different from the way in which the Greek cities partly co-operated and partly failed to co-operate under the threat of a Persian invasion.

Sometimes the people, or their leaders, took the initiative, and invited someone to command them. This happened in the case of Jephthah; and possibly also in that of Gideon, judging by his plea (Jd 6 v 15) that he was too poor to lead an army against Midian. Apparently wealth and social standing were desirable qualifications in such a leader, as well as the inspiration of Yahweh. Incidentally, Gideon's call-up of the Galilaeen tribes supports the possibility that there was a Galilaeen league, originally independent of the Ephraimite league. And it seems natural that Gilead, also, should normally manage its own affairs; though its appeal to Saul for help against Ammon shows that it was conscious of its kinship with the western tribes. The ideal of pan-Israelite unity evidently existed, even if it was not put into practice. Noth (System, 43f, 46f) sees in the Greek and Italian leagues parallels to the Israelite league. These alleged parallels will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 9. THE ANCIENT GREEK AND ITALIAN LEAGUES.

Martin Noth claims that the Israelite league resembled the ancient leagues of Greece and Italy. (System, 43f, 46f.) Broadly speaking, this is probably true: the question is whether this resemblance extends to all the particulars mentioned by Noth. In addition to these foreign parallels, Noth finds resemblances between the Israelite league and other Semitic tribal systems; and these may conveniently be considered first.

In the OT both Israelite and non-Israelite tribal groups are presented as descendants of one ancestor. But apparently these were not rigid caste-systems, and outsiders could easily be naturalised. In Jsh 8 v 33 we read that "all Israel" took part in the ceremony of the reading of the law, "as well the stranger, as he that was born among them." In its extant form this narrative, which assigns priestly duties to the Levites, may be late post-exilic, and was possibly used as a counterblast to the views of such purists as Ezra, who strongly opposed mixed marriages. Throughout the Hexateuch one seems to detect opposite views on this matter. The Israelites are repeatedly warned against marrying Canaanites; yet provision is made for the adoption of servants as naturalised Hebrews. (It might, however, be argued that this only covered the case of Hebrew servants of another tribe.) It is clear from Jd 1 that in fact the Israelites did mix freely with the Canaanites; and it seems likely that, broadly speaking, the laity saw no harm in this. Rigid separatism, in pre-exilic periods, is more likely to have been the creed of priests and prophets, and such kings as inclined to their views. But indeed even after the exile there was evidently much intermarriage. Consequently, this derivation of tribal groups from one ancestor must have been partially fictional.

Noth lays stress on the twelve-tribe structure of the Israelite league, as that league appears in Gn 49 and elsewhere. (System, 53f, 58.) This matter will be discussed more fully later; meanwhile it must be said that not all the tribal groups mentioned in Genesis comprise six or twelve "sons". Noth points out that in Gn 22 v 20-24 twelve sons are attributed to Nahor, Abram's brother; and in Gn 17 v 20 and 25 v 13-16 twelve to Ishmael, Abram's son. But the Moabite genealogy in Gn 19 v 37, 38 includes only two sons; while in that of Noah's sons in Gn 10, Japheth has seven sons, Ham four, and Shem five, making a total of 16. Moreover, 6 and 12 are round numbers, and share with 20 and 40 the suspicion that inevitably attaches to such numbers in OT tradition. A similar suspicion attaches to the numbers 7 and 70. In Jd 8 v 30, Gideon has 70 sons; in Jd 10 v 4, Jair has 30. Ibzan (Jd 12 v 8) has 30 sons and 30 daughters; while Abdon (Jd 12 v 13) has 40 sons and 30 nephews, who rode on 70 asses. This looks like schematised history, and seems to be parallel to the schematic dating in Judges, of which the familiar formula, "And the land had rest 40 years", is an example. Noth allows that the twelve-tribe system was artificial, but claims that such a system did not only exist on paper, but was in actual operation. Yet the Song of Deborah only mentions ten tribes; and in 2 S 2 v 9 Ishbaal's kingdom consists of five provinces.

Similarly, the tribal leagues of Greece and Italy by no means always contained 12 members. Mommsen (Hist. Rome I 45) states that the Latin League had once contained 30 members, though within historical times the Roman republic included only 9 existing tribes and 6 extinct ones. The Kalaurian amphictyony had 7 members. The ten-tally in the Song of Deborah therefore deserves to be treated seriously, for this reason as well as for all the other reasons that attest its reliability.

The flexible and informal nature of these ancient leagues, in Palestine or elsewhere, is admirably brought out in the summarised account of the Latin League in Allcroft & Masom's Tutorial History of Rome, 4th ed'n, p 50,51:-

"While yet the Latins were little differentiated from the Sabines, they descended from the high lands about Reate on the upper waters of the Nar, and at the dawn of history we find these, the Old Latins (Prisci Latini), settled in Latium...In the earliest days of the Republic there were thirty towns of importance upon the roll of the Latin League. The central point of their land was the Alban Mount, and here stood Alba Longa, which from its strength and commanding site - for it overlooked the whole of Latium like a watch-tower - became naturally the centre of their nationality. Here was the temple of the Latin Jupiter, and hither came the whole people year by year to do him honour and sacrifice in the Latin Festival. But league in any proper sense of the term there was as yet none, and certainly the Latin towns were not colonies from Alba. Each town was independent, and presumably ruled by its own king as was Rome. Probably also the inhabitants of all the Latin towns possessed, as members of one people, the right to intermarry, to migrate from one town to another, and to acquire and dispose of property as they could. It is possible that the deputies of all may have met from time to time to debate upon matters which affected all alike; and probably such congress would have in fact, if not in theory, a certain control over the individual towns. They were not a belligerent folk, but as ~~xxx~~ occasion demanded they might doubtless levy a conjoint army to defend the interests of all, and might appoint a dictator, or, later, two praetors to take the supreme command; yet there could have been no compulsion in the matter, and each several town was its own master, whether it were Tusculum or Praeneste or Tibur or Rome, or any other settlement large or small."

A more perfect parallel to the general picture revealed in the Book of Judges than the above could hardly be imagined. It is probable that, generally speaking, in politics as in religion, cut and dried arrangements, hard and fast rules, and precise definitions, are late developments in the life of any particular community. This, of course, is not to suggest that clear rules are undesirable; but only that they are usually the fruit of long experience and slow development. And although the ancient world did not make that sharp distinction between religion and politics which is customary in the modern world (though now challenged in some quarters), yet probably the chief factor in shaping the evolution of these ancient leagues was the need of the nation for mutual defence and for some medium of commercial, social, and connubial inter-communication between the towns or tribes comprising the league. Yet religion undoubtedly played an essential part in the life of such leagues, and provided the sanction for any laws imposed by the leagues as leagues.

A further parallel between the Latin and Israelite leagues is provided by the fact that the earliest Roman territorial divisions were based on family-names, while districts added later were called after place-names. Allowing for the fact that the Israelites were probably slow to exchange a semi-nomadic for a settled life, while some of them never made the change, we may compare the early Roman "rural wards" named after families with the tribes of Reuben and Simeon, or with "the house of Joseph"; and it is interesting to note Mommsen's remark (Hist. Rome I 45) that "the clans who thus gave their names to the wards of the original Roman territory are, so far as they have not become entirely extinct (as is the

case with the Camilii, Galerii, Lemonii, Pollii, Pupinii, Voltinii), the very oldest patrician families of Rome." In these vanished clans we may surely discern the Roman counterpart of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi.

Allowing for the fact that the Israelites were probably slower to form towns than the Latins, we may also see a parallel with the Israelite league in the system of government of the Latin towns. Mommsen (op.cit.49) says, "All these cantons were in primitive times politically sovereign, and each of them was governed by its prince with the co-operation of the council of elders and the assembly of warriors. Nevertheless the feeling of fellowship based on community of descent and of language not only pervaded the whole of them, but manifested itself in an important religious and political institution - the perpetual league of the collective Latin cantons. The presidency belonged originally, according to the universal Italian as well as Hellenic usage, to that canton within whose bounds lay the meeting-place of the league; in this case it was the canton of Alba, which, as we have said, was generally regarded as the oldest and most ^{eminent} of the Latin cantons."

In Alba we may surely recognise the Latin equivalent of Shiloh. Noth believes (GI 92) that the Israelite league did not always have the same cultic centre, but that this, at various periods, was at Shechem, Gilgal, Bethel, and Shiloh, and finally at Jerusalem. For Shiloh and Jerusalem we have good biblical evidence; but, with the doubtful ~~and~~ exception of Bethel, already noticed, Judges and 1, 2 Samuel give little hint of any other residences. (This naturally excludes the wanderings of the ark after the Philistines captured it.) The ark resides in Shiloh until the destruction of that town; and thither go all Israelites attending the annual feast of Yahweh. The ark itself was a moveable cult-object, a relic, it seems, of the Exodus, or at least of ancient pilgrimages to Sinai. But the evidence of Hebrew poetry is solid for the idea that Yahweh, when once he had settled in Palestine, sought out for himself a place to dwell in. Note, for example, Ps 9 v 11, "Sing praises to Yahweh, which dwelleth in Zion"; and the closing section of the Song of Miriam (Ex 15 v 17) - a verse, as Albright (Arch. Pal.233) points out, which is parallel to Ugaritic poetry, and therefore as likely to be ancient as any part of the song - "Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance, in the place, O Yahweh, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in..." Scholars used to assume that this sanctuary must be the temple at Jerusalem; the reasons for the writer's belief that it was Shiloh have been already discussed.

It seems likely, therefore, that the Israelite counterpart of the Latin league was that original Ephraimite league out of which the larger league of Israel seems to have evolved. In the OT Ephraim is regularly described, not as a league, but as a *tribe* or "tribe". But the Lexicon gives "rod" or "sceptre" as the basic meaning of *tribe*; so that in its secondary sense the word would appear to mean, not so much a "tribe" in the ordinary English sense of word, as denoting a clan whose members all claim descent from the same ancestor, but rather an "authority". In this more flexible sense one could certainly describe Ephraim as a "tribe"; and obviously in this sense it would not matter whether the tribal name had originally been personal or geographical.

Mommsen describes the Latin cities as governed each by a king with an advisory



council of elders and a popular assembly to accept or reject the senate's proposals. We find the elders and the popular assembly in Judges and 1,2 Samuel, but hear little or nothing of local kings as such. But the office of judge may have been roughly parallel to the position held by those ancient kings of Latium; for if their senates had any power at all, their kings can hardly have been oriental despots in the popular sense of the word. They would be more like provosts of modern Scottish towns or mayors of English ones. At the stage of communal development represented by the Latin League and the league of Ephraim, the actual practical difference between a Latin king and an Ephraimite judge was probably negligible. As for charismatic leaders such as Ehud, Gideon, Jephthah, and Saul, their Latin parallels would be the dictators or praetors chosen to cope with military emergencies. And although some of the military leaders in Judges almost seem to have chosen themselves, in practice the fact that their armies followed them would represent the league's tacit consent to their authority, which was the practical equivalent of a popular election. And since Jephthah was approached by the elders of Gilead and invited to be their leader, it appears that the Israelite habit of following charismatic leaders by no means excluded a more formal appointment of a military dictator, similar to those appointed, as occasion ~~was~~ required, by the Latin league.

It is significant that Mommsen recognises the presidency of the Latin league to have belonged to the canton of Alba, partly because it was the oldest and most eminent of the Latin cantons, but still more because the meeting-place of the league was situated within its bounds. (Hist. Rome I 49.) By analogy, Shiloh was the capital of the Ephraimite (later Israelite) league; and this is in harmony with the fact that Samuel, the custodian of the ark in succession to Eli and his sons, "judged Israel", and held that office for life. It is this life-tenancy, coupled with the fact that Eli's sons had been the recognised successors to their father's office, which encourages one to think that there was little difference in practice between an Israelite judge and a Latin king.

Mommsen remarks that the Latin league originally contained 30 members, a number frequent among such leagues in ancient Greece and Italy, but that the names of these original thirty are not recorded. Here, as in the OT, one is tempted to wonder if we are confronted by round numbers. Mommsen then remarks that at the annual feast each community taking part in the feast contributed its fixed quota of cattle, milk, and cheese, receiving in return a portion of the roasted victim. Here, as in the case of the feast at Shiloh, we hear nothing of any monthly offering-rota, for the sufficient reason that there is no word of a monthly offering, but only of an annual one. It is significant that in the OT, apart from Solomon's monthly provision-arrangements, and those of his father David (to be discussed later), only once do we hear of an offering-rota, in Nm 7; and here the tribal representatives make their offering, not monthly, but on successive days, until all have offered. Obviously such an arrangement as this would be equally simple to carry out, whatever might be the number of tribal representatives. It is essentially a flexible arrangement, not requiring for its execution any specific number of tribes.

With regard to the presidency exercised by the canton of Alba, Mommsen says that there is no reason for recognising in it "a real political hegemony over Latium, any more than in the case of Elis' honorary presidency over the Olympian

games. This agrees with the fact that Shiloh never appears as ruling over Israel.

One further point that is of interest in our present study is brought out by Mommsen when he says (op.cit.52), "On the whole it is probable that the extent of this Latin league, and the amount of its jurisdiction, were somewhat unsettled and fluctuating; yet it remained throughout not an accidental aggregate of various communities more or less alien to each other, but the just and necessary expression of the relationship of the Latin stock. The Latin league may not have at all times included all Latin communities, but it never at any rate granted the privilege of membership to any that were not Latin. Its counterpart in Greece was not the Delphic Amphictyony, but the Boeotian or Aetolian confederacy."

One might add that the Palestinian counterpart of the Latin league was the league of Israel, the nation that prided itself on being a race apart, not only in the aspirations of the prophets, but in such popular poetry as the Oracles of Balaam. This separateness is attested by archaeology for all periods down to the advent of Solomon; and it has often been acclaimed as unique. Certainly, the Jew has played a unique part in world-history; yet it seems the Latins also had their separatism. And as the Jews were destined to found, albeit indirectly, the world-religion of Christianity, so the Latins founded a world-civilisation, and a system of law that may truly be said to have made Europe. In those events which welded together so intimately the Roman civilisation and the Christian Church, one may surely see the hand of a divine destiny.

Our study of the Latin league has tended very strongly to confirm the ~~general~~ picture of Israel's development revealed by Judges and 1,2 Samuel in general, and the Song of Deborah in particular. And, broadly speaking, the historical traditions underlying these three books may surely rank as the oldest in the OT, and probably the most reliable. It now remains to consider whether the evidence presented by the Greek amphictyonies and leagues of various kinds tends to modify the conclusions suggested by the witness of the Latin league.

The following account of Greek tribal communities and organisations is based on Grote's History of Greece, especially on Vol. III p 32f. Herodotus said that the Greeks were one in race, language, and religion. The latter, however, was of gradual growth. Of the games at Olympia, Pytho, Nemea, and the Isthmus, the first-named were much the oldest; but in Homeric days, if they existed at all, they were only a local event. These games gradually widened their clientele through the growth of the custom of sending a sacred legation ("theoria") from one village to the festival of another village, to offer both a sacrifice and a truce. Thus the custom of the sacred truce during the festival gradually became universal. Apart from the games, there were several pan-hellenic festivals, including the pan-Boeotian festival of Athene, the festival of Apollo Pythaeus at Argos, and the Achaean, Aetolian, and Delian festivals.

Somewhat different were the amphictyonies. These were close corporations of several communities with a common interest in the maintenance, administration, and military defence of a central temple. When one remembers that in both the Greek and the Semitic worlds the temples were the bankers of those worlds, their repositories, possibly their money-lenders, their final courts of appeal, their oracles, and (together with their armies) the ultimate source of all authority, it is evident that these amphictyonies had an extremely practical aspect. They combined the functions of a cathedral, a central law-court, and a banking

corporation. Where so much was at stake, it is little wonder that membership of an amphictyony was strictly limited and jealously guarded by strict rules, violation of which involved heavy fines, and, in the last resort, expulsion. Grote names six of these amphictyonies;-

1. The Amphictyony of the Temple of Poseidon in the holy island of Kalauria. Seven members: Hermione, Epidaurus, Aegina, Athens, Prasias, Nauplia, Orchomenus. Temple and sacrifices jointly maintained by the seven.
2. The Triphylian Amphictyony of the Temple of the Samian Poseidon in the west Peloponnesus. The town of Makiston superintended the temple, notified members of dates of meetings, and proclaimed the Samian truce.
3. The pan-Ionic Amphictyony. West coast of Asia Minor. Twelve members.
4. The Amphictyony of the Temple of the Triopian Apollo. Members: six Dorian towns in SW Asia Minor and adjacent isles. Halikarnassus, one of its members, was formally expelled by the other five for violating the rules.
5. The Amphictyony of the Temple of Poseidon at Onchestus in Boeotia.
6. Largest of all: the "Amphictyonic Assembly", meeting half-yearly alternately at Thermopylae (the original meeting-place) and Delphi. Twelve members. Chief functions: maintenance, management, and defence of the wealthy temple at Delphi. Later it played an active part in politics, though its political influence finally dwindled.

With the utmost respect to Martin Noth (a great scholar for whom the writer has the highest veneration), one cannot help feeling that in the case of these Greek amphictyonies the parallel with the Israelite league is much less close than in the case of the Latin league. The interest of an amphictyony was essentially centred in its temple rather than in the community. It can hardly be an accident that three of these amphictyonies maintained a temple of Poseidon on or near the coast. Behind these arrangements one senses mercantile interests.

The games were different again from the amphictyonies as well as from the Latin and Israelite leagues. Different as Latins and Israelites were, they were alike in their pride of race and strong family sense. The Israelite league probably resembled the Latin league in intimately uniting its three chief ~~from~~ functions, religious, legal, and military. Probably it was at once army and law-court and holy communion. The more free and easy temperament of the Greeks, to whom art and philosophy came more naturally than either theology or military discipline, expressed itself in the greater looseness of the Greek associations - the amphictyonies excepted. The Olympic games were certainly religious in purpose: one can hardly say that they were also military and legalistic.

The real Israelite parallel to the amphictyonies may possibly have been the link between Issachar and Zebulun. Dt 33 v 18,19 strongly suggests that they formed an amphictyony for the maintenance of a sanctuary on Carmel in connection with the local fisheries and perhaps also with overseas trade. In this text, v 19 has the appearance of a late addition; and the reference in v 18 to tents, if it be not a mere poetic archaism, clashes strangely with the tang of the sea which permeates these verses. Yet even in v 18, which perhaps depicts an earlier period

than v 19, Issachar and Zebulun are already closely linked; a fact in harmony with the tradition in Gn 29,30 that they formed a later Leah-group. For a while, it seems, Zebulun joined forces with Naphtali, while the men of Issachar found employment with the Canaanites, possibly in Sunem. But when the Israelites ~~eventually~~ eventually gained control of the Plain of Esdraelon, Zebulun seems to have thrust forward, probably along the Carmel ridge, until she commanded at least one corner of the coast. For whereas in Jd 1 v 30 her expansion is barred by the Canaanite cities of Kitron and Nahalol - unknown sites, but in view of Zebulun's collaboration with Naphtali during the period of the Judges, probably well inland - in Gn 49 we are told that Zebulun is a haven for ships, and his border reaches to Zidon. This last claim may perhaps have been a mild patriotic exaggeration; but if Zebulun held the coast around Carmel, it held a strategic point on the coast, and could proceed to build up its overseas trade. In doing this, the co-operation of Issachar, which under the United Monarchy must have commanded the important trade-routes of the north, would be to the mutual advantage of both tribes. The OT amply attests the cultic associations of Carmel, the scene of Elijah's dramatic contest with the priests of Baal, of his effectual prayer for rain, and of the college of prophets who probably helped to transmit the Elijah-traditions. It does not seem very improbable that whatever god was worshipped on Carmel would be one who controlled the weather and the sea. Behind the close link between Issachar and Zebulun may easily lie a joint enterprise centred on a sanctuary on Carmel, jointly maintained by the two tribes.

Another possible parallel to some of the Greek leagues seems to be provided by the league of the five Philistine cities, and perhaps also by that four-town league, mentioned in Jsh 9 v 17b, which comprised Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kirjath-Jearim. But of a league in the precise form that Noth (System, 85,97) has described, with a monthly offering- and administration-rota, and an inner council of popularly-elected tribal representatives, there really seems to be very little sign, in Palestine or Greece or Italy. The writer does not dogmatically say that such a league did not exist in these countries; he merely suggests that the relevant evidence is scanty, and insufficient to prove such a theory. What we know of the Latin league suggests rather the Israelite league as we see it in the pages of Judges and 1,2 Samuel; while the Greek amphictyonies are suggestive, less of the Israelite league, than of the links which severally bound the Philistine pentapolis, Gibeon and her three neighbours, and Zebulun and Issachar.

Yet deeper than these resemblances between the Israelite and Latin leagues lay something which Israel alone possessed: her covenant with Yahweh. The Mosaic Law was the expression of that covenant: or perhaps one should say, it was the condition on which the link between Israel and Yahweh depended: though Yahweh in His infinite mercy often mended the link when rebellious Israel had broken it. Before passing on to consider the evidence of Hebrew tribal songs other than the Song of Deborah, it seems only fitting to consider a law-code, cast in a primitive form, and closely linked, in ancient Hebrew tradition, with the northern kingdom: the code of the Twelve Curses in Dt 27. The writer does not suggest that this is the only extant relic of the original Mosaic Law, or indeed that the Curses are necessarily in their original form. But it may be that they bring us as close as, or even closer than, any other section of the Mosaic Law in its extant form, to the spirit and practice of the Israelite league as it existed in the days of Deborah. And it seems to contain in embryo many of the best and deepest teachings of the Law, as it was developed in later ages. This code will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 10. ANCIENT ISRAELITE LAW-CODES.

Although the Song of Deborah does not specifically mention the Law of Yahweh, one section of the song offers a valuable hint upon the form which that law may have taken in its original form. This is the curse upon Meroz. Alt (Kl. Schr. I 274) makes the very reasonable suggestion that Meroz was probably a Canaanite city which had become subject to Israel, and was therefore legally bound to provide military service at the league's command. A curse officially delivered a person or a town to the wrath of the gods, and therefore must have implied excommunication, since the ancients must have considered it dangerous to make contact with accursed persons, places, or objects. The curse is therefore a type of legal penalty especially suited to the use of temples, leagues, and wandering tribes. And Jd 5 v 23 is of great interest, as demonstrating that the Israelite league could and did use the curse as an instrument of punishment. When, therefore, we find in Dt 27 a table of curses traditionally associated with Shechem, the place where Abimelech and Jeroboam I were crowned, and (still more significantly) where Rehoboam, Solomon's son and successor, came with the object of being crowned, (1 K 12 v 1) it seems likely that the narratives in Dt 27, Jsh 8, and Jsh 24, are worked-up, didactic writings, based on the memory of ~~an~~ covenant-ceremony used by the kings of Israel at their coronation.

The ultimate basis of these narratives may perhaps have been the coronation-ceremony of Jeroboam II, itself possibly based on that of his great namesake Jeroboam I, as it had been traditionally handed down through the centuries. Later in this chapter the Twelve Curses will be compared with the Decalogue, and it will be suggested that both have a common ancestor. That common source must evidently lie a long way back in time from both codes, since the original nuclei of the separate commandments, quite apart from the added commentaries, are widely different in form. A possible explanation of this, though admittedly not the only one, is that the Decalogue was used at Jerusalem and the Twelve Curses at Shechem, and perhaps also at Bethel and Dan, the Decalogue having thus been the peculiar property of the southern kingdom and the Curses that of the northern. This theory is supported by the ~~fact~~ very striking fact that whereas in the Decalogue there are extensive commentaries upon the 2nd, and 4th commandments, and shorter ones upon the 3rd and 5th, in the Curses we find commentaries upon only two commandments, the 1st and the 6th, and those are very brief. During the long agony of the Syrian War, Israel (i.e. the northern kingdom) had been under a cloud. Judging by the sudden burst of prophetic writings or sayings in the reign of Jeroboam II, his final victories over Syria had ushered in a brief and brilliant renaissance for Israel (as one would expect them to do), which lasted until the final unhappy reigns of the northern kings, and the downfall of Samaria. ~~Under Jeroboam II~~ In Judah the outburst of prophetic and didactic writing seems to have begun in roughly the same period: but Judah survived Israel's downfall by about 140 years. It would be natural for the didactic writers of both kingdoms to make use of the old traditional codes of Israel and Judah in their writings; and the commentaries and other amplifications in the Curses and Decalogue may perhaps date from this renaissance-period after the Syrian War. If so, the early fall of the northern kingdom may possibly explain why the Decalogue was amplified more extensively than the Curses.

It must, however, be admitted that Hos 13 v 2 & 4, a passage which is plainly of northern origin, contains echoes, not of the Curses, but of the Decalogue. It therefore seems more likely that the two codes belonged, not to two different kingdoms, but to two different rites. Whereas the Curses are associated with

Shechem, the place where kings of Israel had been crowned, the Decalogue has, in OT tradition, only one geographical association, namely that with Sinai itself. This suggests that its cultic use was more frequent and more general than that of the Curses. Both codes are closely associated in OT tradition with the making and renewing of the Covenant between Yahweh and Israel. Two appropriate occasions for a covenant-ceremony suggest themselves: the coronation of a new king, and the annual celebration of the Passover. The link between the Curses and Shechem suggests that they were used for coronations rather than for Passover-celebrations, especially since the obvious place for the latter, in the northern kingdom, was surely Bethel, the king's royal chapel. (See Amos 7 v 13.) Had the Curses been regularly used there at the Passover, one would have expected Bethel rather than Shechem to be the scene of the narratives in Dt 27, Jsh 8, and Jsh 24; for Bethel was as rich in patriarchal tradition as Shechem.

In view of these facts, the writer would tentatively suggest that the Curses derive from the northern coronation-rites and the Decalogue from those of the Passover. And the simple fact that the Passover-celebrations (even allowing for those periods of decadence deplored by the compilers of 2 Kings) are likely to have been much more frequent than coronations, would itself explain why in the course of time the Decalogue became amplified more extensively than the Curses.

Of all ceremonies, a coronation-rite is especially likely to be conservative in its form. On such an occasion, the sense of continuity with the past is uppermost in men's minds. And the very fact that Jeroboam II bore the same name as Jeroboam I suggests that he bore it as a symbol of his desire, and the desire of his subjects, to revive the glories of his namesake's reign, as Mussolini hoped to revive the glories of ancient Rome, and so introduced the ancient symbol of the fasces. And Jeroboam I, judging by the formula in which he dedicated the calves, (1 K 12 v 28) had himself taken his stand upon the ancient faith and institutions of the north. Hence, it seems likely that the Curses represent the ancient code of Israel in an earlier form than does the Decalogue. This inference is supported, not only by the greater simplicity of the Curses as compared with the Decalogue, but by the fact that they use the primitive form of the curse: a form, as we have seen, which was used by the Israelite league in the days of Deborah. Thus, it seems likely that there was considerable continuity between the ancient Israelite league and the northern kingdom which succeeded it. And this makes it seem likely that officially, at least, the kings of Israel were supposed to be the successors of the judges, as the power of the Caesars was officially based on the institutions of the Roman Republic. In this case, Jeroboam I's coronation-rites may well have been based, at least in part, on the rites used for the initiation of judges at Shiloh. In 1 K 12 v 32,33, we read that Jeroboam I, after his coronation, proceeded to offer sacrifice. He thus claimed to be a priest-king, a familiar combination in the ancient east, but one which, in this case, seems to point back to the institutions of Shiloh.

At first sight the opening curse appears to make nonsense of the suggestion that the Curses were used at the coronation of the kings of Israel. For it condemns graven images; and Hos 11 v 2 echoes its language (or that of its counterpart in the Decalogue) and applies it to "the calves"; while Hos 8 v 6 refers still more pointedly to "the calf of Samaria". Are we to believe that at the coronation of Jeroboam I a code was recited which condemned the very thing that was done by the king himself, immediately after his coronation? And yet S. R. Driver (ICC Dt 300), referring to the Curses, writes, "It is probable that it (the list of curses) is in reality not the work of the author of Dt., but an

old liturgical office, used on solemn occasions, which has been inserted by a later hand in the text of Dt., and accommodated to its position there by the addition (or adaptation) of v 26."

We thus appear to be in an awkward dilemma. The Curses, apparently, are an old code; and their present context, however late it may be, links them with the north. Yet their condemnation of images makes them contrary to the official practice at Dan, Shechem, and Bethel, the three chief ecclesiastical centres of the northern kingdom'.

On examination of the Hebrew text, this difficulty at once begins to disappear. For whereas all the other curses are constructed with active participles ("Cursed be the doer of..."), the first and the last use the relative pronoun ASHER ("who"), plus a finite verb: "Cursed be he who does..." And the former construction is more characteristic of poetry, and the latter of prose. The regular rhythm of the Curses as a whole, together with their reiterated response, "Amen", suggests that in their original form they were poetic, and were intoned by a leader or a choir, with responsive amens from the people, in that kind of sing-song rhythm which one naturally associates with ancient Semitic poetry and music. Curses 2 to 11 inclusive, shorn of obvious late additions, have a strongly-marked repetitive rhythm: curses 1 and 12 break away completely from this rhythm, in addition to using the prose grammatical construction already mentioned. And they stand apart from the rest of the code in content also. The 12th adds nothing new, but merely sums up the code and brings the total number of curses to the favourite round number of twelve; and Driver's belief that it may have been a late addition has already been noted. The 1st curse is conspicuous by the fact that it is the only cultic taboo in the code, the others being all purely ethical. Moreover, as it stands here, its meaning is not clear. To be sure, it states that a graven image is an abomination to Yahweh. But in the conceptions of the ancient world, this statement would only be lucid if it meant an image of a god other than Yahweh; for it seems fairly safe to say that down, at least, to the days of the late Monarchy, few Israelites would have raised objections to the use of images in connection with the worship of Yahweh. What else were the cherubim in the temple of Solomon ~~but~~ images? The real meaning of the taboo appears in the Decalogue, where the ban on images stands revealed as a continuation of the first commandment, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." That this is so, can be demonstrated by omitting v 4 of Exodus 20 and making v 5 follow immediately after v 3: "Thou shalt have no other gods before me; thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them..." This, surely, is the original amplification of the first commandment; and the prohibition of images must have been inserted as a special reference to the calves of Bethel and Samaria.

The continuation of Ex 20 v 5 makes this point still clearer. It reads, "I, Yahweh thy God, am a jealous God." Variants of this formula occur in Ex 34 v 14, Dt 4 v 24, Dt 6 v 15, and (with a very minor change in the Hebrew for "jealous") in Jsh 24 v 19 and Nah 1 v 2. These texts are quoted below:

Ex 20 v 5. I, Yahweh thy God, am a jealous God.

Ex 34 v 14. Yahweh, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God.

Dt 4 v 24. Yahweh thy God is a consuming fire, a jealous God.

Dt 6 v 15. Yahweh thy God is a jealous God among you.

Jsh 24 v 19 Ye cannot serve Yahweh: for he is a holy God; he is a jealous God.

Nahum 1 v 2. God is jealous, and Yahweh revengeth.

These sayings, occurring, as they do, in such differing contexts, yet all roughly parallel to one another, are clearly based on old cultic formulae; and the mention of vengeance, in Nahum as well as in the Decalogue, suggests the sacred wars of the Israelite league. Thus, the first two commandments of the Decalogue may have developed from some such original cultic saying as "Thou shalt have no other gods: for Yahweh is a jealous God." But in this case the first curse, as it now stands, is the middle of a sentence, without beginning or end. It may, therefore, have found its way into the Curses as a late insertion, based on the Decalogue.

We can reach this same conclusion simply by granting Driver's suggestion that the 12th curse is a late addition. For, as we noted, the 1st and 12th curses differ from the rest, and resemble each other, in their grammatical construction. The date of the one is therefore likely to be the date of the other also. Moreover, no. 12 appears to have been added to bring the number of curses to a symmetrical total. If we omit 1 & 12 we are left with ten commandments, the same total as in the Decalogue. The OT writers seem to have been satisfied with that total in the case of the Decalogue, so that there is no apparent reason why they should have been dissatisfied with it in the case of the Curses. But they might well wish to round off a set of 11 curses with a twelfth. But the desire to do this suggests that a curse had been added to an original set of ten, disturbing their symmetry. The only curse that differs from the rest, ~~in its construction~~ of the first eleven, in grammatical structure and in content (being cultic, rather than ethical), is the first. This, then, must be the late addition which led to the further adding of the twelfth curse.

When the first and last curses are omitted, ten remain, alike in grammatical construction and general ethical content, but unequal in length. But beneath these unequal lengths we can discern the following standardised construction. Below it has been added, in illustration, a literal translation of the 5th curse, shorn of the words "of the stranger, fatherless, and widow", which have the appearance of a later amplification. They certainly point the moral, in directions in which human nature needs to have it pointed: but in strict logic they limit the application of the curse, which is really clear and sufficient without them.

Passive Participle +	Active Participle +	Predicate
Cursed	the perverter	of justice

Curses 2 to 4 inclusive may easily be reduced to the same formula, thus:-

Passive Participle +	Active Participle +	Predicate
Cursed	the despiser	of his father
Cursed	the remover	of a landmark
Cursed	the misleader	of the blind

Each of these sentences would form a sentence of three words in the Hebrew: and in all these cases (Curses 2 to 5 inclusive) this ~~reconstruction~~ suggested reconstruction may be obtained merely by taking the first three words only of each curse. The same method, applied to the 11th curse, gives "Cursed the receiver of a bribe": again, a less pointed saying, but logically a more comprehensive one. And in No. 10, by omitting "his neighbour", an extension of the Predicate that can

really be taken for granted, we obtain "Cursed the smiter in secret" - or, more lucidly, "Cursed the killer in secret".

The table of affinities in Curses 6 to 9 inclusive ^{does} not so readily lend themselves to this treatment; and it seems possible that they ^{it is} are an incomplete extract from the table of affinities (or its original prototype) in Lv 18 v 6-20, just as Curse No. 1 appears to be an incomplete extract from the first two commandments of the Decalogue. But inasmuch as one can hardly imagine a strongly ethical code like the Curses completely ignoring this subject, it may be that Curses 6 to 9 have at some time been substituted for a simple, comprehensive taboo, parallel in meaning to the 7th commandment of the Decalogue. A comparison of the forbidden affinities in Lv 18 with those in the Curses seems to support this inference, as shown below:-

TABLES	OF	FORBIDDEN	AFFINITIES
Lv 18 v 6-20			Dt 27 v 20-23
Near of kin			
Thy father...thy mother		His	
Thy father's wife		Thy Father's wife	
Thy sister, the daughter of thy father, or daughter of thy mother		His sister, the daughter of his father, or the daughter of his mother	
Thy son's daughter, or thy daughter's daughter		His mother in law	
Thy father's wife's daughter		Any manner of beast	
Thy father's sister			
Thy mother's sister			
Thy father's brother (wife of)			
Thy daughter in law			
Thy brother's wife			
A woman and her daughter, her son's daughter, or her daughter's daughter			
Wife's sister			
Woman during period			
Thy neighbour's wife			

To facilitate comparison, the order of the Curses has been altered. It is clear that the two tables have verbal affinities, and are probably derived from a common source. If it seems reasonable to assume that in the original Curses all these taboos were summed up in one, while Nos. 1 and 12, as suggested, are late additions, we are left with an original code of 7 curses; a number with strong cultic associations in the OT and NT alike, and therefore a not unlikely total.

The possibility that the Curses, in their oldest form, were the official code of the pre-monarchic Israelite league, seems to receive some support from Samuel's words to the people after the coronation of Saul (1 S 12 v 3 -5); "Behold, here I am: witness against me before Yahweh, and before his anointed: whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? ~~and~~ or of whose hand have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes therewith? and I will restore it you. And they said, Thou hast not defrauded us, nor oppressed us, neither hast thou taken ought of any man's hand. And he said unto them, Yahweh is witness against you, and his anointed is witness this day, that ye have not found ought in my hand. And they answered, He is witness."

These words are reminiscent of both codes. The reference to the ox and the ass recall the 10th commandment of the Decalogue, while the mention of the bribe suggests the Curses. No doubt this is late didactic writing; yet it may be based, to some extent, on genuine tradition. And Dt 17 v 14-20 prescribes that the king shall study the book of the law and obey it. In the story of Naboth's vineyard (1 K 21), Ahab is accused of an act ~~xxx~~ which recalls the 10th commandment and the 5th curse. It begins to appear that these codes were intended for the admonition, not only of the people in general, but of the king in particular, and of the judges before the Monarchy. The reciting of the Curses at coronations, which the writer believes may have happened, would thus be equivalent to the oaths which our own British sovereigns take at their coronations, when they promise not to infringe the liberties of their subjects. Some such meaning may underlie 1 S 12 v 3-5.

It was suggested above that in the 5th curse the words "the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow" may be a late addition. This is a common expression in the OT, and is especially common in Dt and the prophets. It suggests that the prophetic school may have preserved these two codes, the Curses and the Decalogue, and added their present didactic amplifications. This seems an especially likely explanation of the presence of the 1st curse. The opposition of the OT prophets to the kings of Israel and their calf-images is too familiar to need demonstration.

Overlaid with later additions as the curses seem to be, their primitive nature, as compared with the "if-laws" in the Pentateuch, and even with the Decalogue, remains clear. The mere fact that they are curses shows this. So does the reference to the removal of landmarks: for surely the type of landmark in question was not so much a private landmark as a tribal pasture-boundary, like the stone which Jacob and Laban erected, as described in Gn 31 v 45. Indeed, signs are not lacking, in the accounts ~~of~~ in Joshua of the boundaries of Ephraim and Manasseh, that there may have been dispute between these two tribes, in which landmarks played a prominent part. In Jsh 17 v 8 we read, "Manasseh had the land of Tappuah: but Tappuah on the border of Manasseh belonged to the children of Ephraim." And the fact that the common boundary of Ephraim and Manasseh touched Shechem, which lay between the twin hills of Ebal and Gerizim, strongly suggests that it was an accommodation-frontier. This inference is supported by the fact that both hills figure in the covenant-rite, with its liturgy of blessings and curses, described in Dt 27 and Jsh 8. The curiously mixed tribal list in Dt 27 v 12,13, with Reuben, the traditional "firstborn" of Israel, posted on Ebal, suggests that the two-hill rite was originally a one-hill rite performed on Ebal, the hill which lay in ~~Ephraim's~~ ^{Manasseh's} territory. And it is even possible that the taboo upon removing a landmark has particular reference to some landmark near Shechem, which figured in a border-dispute between Ephraim and Manasseh. All this points to conditions under the Judges, when such inter-tribal disputes were settled by ^{by} the organisation of the Israelite league. It therefore seems not impossible that the Twelve Curses, in their original form, were the ordinances of the old Israelite league, as was also the curse upon Meroz in Jd 5, the difference being that the latter was a special decision upon a special case, while the Twelve Curses were, so to speak, "standing orders."

The Decalogue, though similar to the Curses in ethical content, is very different in form. Its commandments are expressed, not in curses, but in direct "thou shalt" and "thou shalt nots". This directness is characteristic of the prophetic writings, as, for instance, in the opening verses of Isaiah. Yahweh speaks directly to Israel. There is also a large cultic element, and the name of Yahweh is prominent.

The writer has suggested (only as a possibility, not as a dogmatic assertion) that under the divided Monarchy, the Curses may have been used at coronations and the Decalogue at the Passover. In his Introduction to OT & Mod. Study (p xxiii), Rowley mentions, among modern tendencies in OT scholarship, "the recognition that priests and prophets are not to be set over against one another in quite the sharp antithesis that was formerly common, but that prophets were cultic persons alongside priests in the service of the shrine." The extant forms of the Decalogue in Ex. and Dt. seem to illustrate this principle very clearly. The cultic element is prominent, and the name of Yahweh, who brought Israel out of Egypt, stands in the opening verse of the Decalogue as the supreme sanction for the code. His people are to refrain from robbing and killing their neighbours, not simply because it would hurt their neighbours, but because it would be a disobedience of Yahweh's commands, and therefore an act of base ingratitude to Him. It could, of course, fairly be argued that this consideration is also ~~implicit~~ implicit in the Curses; but in the Decalogue it certainly receives special prominence. But this principle is as central to the prophetic writings of the OT as to the priestly writings. It is the common ground on which priest and prophet meet. Cultic and moral laws alike preach obedience to Yahweh's will, and obedience based on gratitude for the events of the Exodus and for the signs of His special covenant-love for Israel since then.

The evident affinity between the extant Decalogue and the prophetic writings, therefore, is no objection to the possibility that the code comes to us from the main sanctuaries of Israel and Judah. And this suggests a most interesting inference. If the Curses, as the writer has suggested, were used at the coronation of the kings of Israel, and, before that, at the installation of the Judges, then we may surely trace ~~the~~ back to Eli and Samuel, who judged Israel: and therefore, to Shiloh. But if the Decalogue was used at the Passover, and is a central part of the priestly^{*} tradition (as its position at the head of the ~~priestly~~ legislation in the Pentateuch suggests), then that, too, must derive (in its earliest form) from Shiloh: for Shiloh seems to have been the first temple of Yahweh in Palestine: and Eli and Samuel were in turn the high priests there. Thus, it seems possible that both codes may derive ultimately from a common ancestor which was used at Shiloh: and the coronation of Abimelech at Shechem may well mark the point at which two variants of the code began to make their appearance. But since, in the 2nd book of Kings, we find the prophets associated with the near neighbourhood of Bethel, and since Jeroboam I made Bethel his chapel royal, then, if that variant of the old code which ultimately evolved into the Decalogue belongs originally to Bethel, it is understandable that the prophetic influence shows itself so much more clearly in the Decalogue than in the Curses. This is exactly the result that, in the circumstances, one would have anticipated.

In saying this, the writer is not losing sight of the possibility that the extant Decalogue may owe something to exilic or even post-exilic thought. To discuss this possibility would be to embark upon the troubled sea of Pentateuchal criticism; and it is not strictly relevant to our enquiry, which is primarily concerned with the institutions of Israel as these existed under the Judges and the early Monarchy. But even if elements of the Decalogue are as late as this (which is only a possibility, and perhaps an unlikely one), the mingled priestly and prophetic elements in the Decalogue are so firmly embedded in it that they must surely date back long before the Exile. And if so, then the Curses, which are so much more primitive in form, must be yet earlier. The writer ventures to conclude that in their original nuclei the Curses may well be genuine relics of the pre-monarchic league of Israel.

* Not necessarily "P." but tradition preserved at sanctuaries

Chapter 11. THE EVIDENCE OF JUDGES 1 AND JOSHUA 12.
(Maps II and III)

Two passages in Joshua and Judges seem to support very ~~strong~~ strikingly the general conclusions regarding the development of the Israelite league which the writer has ventured to draw from the evidence so far examined. These are the list in Jd 1 v 21f (with parallels in Joshua) of Canaanite towns not conquered by Israel, and the list in Jsh 12 v 9f of kings conquered by Joshua. For convenience of reference, we may term these respectively the Negative Confession and the King-List. They are depicted on Maps II and III, so far as the towns named can be identified.

In addition to its appearance in Jd 1, the Negative Confession appears also, in scattered fragments, in Jsh 13 v 13 (Transjordan); 15 v 63 (Judah-Jerusalem); 16 v 10 (Ephraim); and 17 v 11-13 (Manasseh-West). This parallel account mentions Transjordan, which Jd 1 v 21, 26-36 omits. On the other hand, Zebulun, Asher, Naphtali, and Dan, are mentioned in Jd 1 and omitted in the Joshua-version. The latter states that Judah could not conquer Jerusalem, while Jd 1 makes the same statement about Benjamin. Since Jerusalem seems to have been situated much closer to the early settlements of Benjamin than to those of Judah, the version in Jd 1, in this respect, is probably the original one. The references to Ephraim and Manasseh-West are virtually identical in both versions. At once we notice the significant fact that in Jd 1, the version which appears to be the more accurate of the two regarding Jerusalem, the tribes named cover the territories of the old Ephraimite league plus those of the Galilaean league. Issachar is not mentioned, however, and the description of Dan evidently refers to its earlier lands in central Palestine, not to its later home in the far north. Judah and Simeon are ignored; though it could be argued that this was inevitable, since they receive full mention in the earlier part of Jd 1. But these earlier verses are very ~~diff~~ different in form and content from the Negative Confession which follows them, and have the appearance of a separate corpus of tradition belonging to the south. The Book of Judges, considered as a whole, concentrates its interest so strongly upon the northern tribes, that it seems reasonable to suppose that its scanty notices of the southern tribes (scanty, at least, compared with those of the north) were added from independent sources by Judahite compilers.

The fact that neither version of the Confession is complete, but that the version in Jd 1 concentrates on the two league-areas of Ephraim and Galilee, while that in Joshua confines itself to Ephraim, Judah, and Transjordan, is perhaps mainly due to the way in which the two versions have been fitted into their contexts; yet it also seems to reflect the incompleteness of Israelite and Judahite unity, even under the united Monarchy. Indeed, one might almost say that for all periods down to A.D. 70, the full unity of Jewry was a Messianic vision rather than a practical reality. After Rome had scattered the Jewish nation, that dream came nearer to realisation in the spiritual realm than it had ever previously done in the political world.

On the following page, the first table gives a digest of the Negative ~~Confession~~ Confession in both its versions, while the second gives locations according to Grollenberg's Atlas and the commentaries on Judges by Moore (ICC) and Burney. Obvious locations are omitted: the latter include the lands of the Geshurites and Maachathites, which were evidently in the far north of Transjordan. Grollenberg locates the former on the hills east of Jordan from Dan to the Sea of Galilee.

He considers that this area was populated by Aramaeans. The city of Abel-Beth-Maacah he actually locates a few miles west of Dan.

DIGEST OF THE NEGATIVE CONFESSION			
Jd 1 v 21, 26-36		Jsh 13 v 13; 15 v 63; 16 v 10; 17 v 11-13	
Tribe	Unconquered Towns	Tribe	Unconquered Towns
Benjamin	Jerusalem	Judah	Jerusalem
Manasseh	BETHSHEAN etc, TAANACH etc, DOR etc, IBLEAM etc, MEGIDDO etc	Manasseh	BETHSHEAN etc, IBLEAM etc, DOR etc, ENDOR etc, TAANACH etc, MEGIDDO etc
Ephraim	Gezer	Ephraim	GEZER
Zebulun	KITRON*, NAHALOL*		
Asher	Accho, Zidon, Ahlab=Helbah, Achzib, Aphik? Rehob??		
Naphtali	BETHSHEMESH, BETHANATH??		
Reuben			
Dan	AIJALON, SHAALBIM??		
		"Israel"	Geshurites & Maachathites Maachathites

KEY:

CAPITALS = later tributary. "etc" = "and her towns". * = site unknown.
? = probable site. ?? = possible site.

LOCATIONS IN THE NEGATIVE CONFESSION			
Town	Grollenberg	Moore	Burney
MANASSEH:			
Bethshean	Tell-el-Hosn, nr Beisan	Beisan	Beisan
Taanach	Tell-Ta'annak (Shechem)	Ta'anuk	Ta'anuk
Ibleam	Tell-Bel'ameh, N of Beisan	Bir Bel'ameh	Bir Bel'ameh
EPHRAIM:			
Gezer	Tell Jezer	Tell Jezer	Tell Jezer
ZEBULUN:			
Kitron	?	?	?
Nahalol	?	?	?
ASHER:			
Ahlab=Helbah	Khirbet-el-Mahalib, 4 mls NE of Tyre	?	Ras-el-Abyad, midway between Tyre & Achzib
Achzib	ex-Zib	ez-Zib	ez-Zib
Aphik	Tell Kurdaneh?	?	?(Aphik of 1929 vl = too far S: modern Afka N of Beirut = too far N)
Rehob	Tell-el-Bir-el-Gharbi?	?	?
NAPHTALI:			
Bethshemesh	Tell-er-Rumeileh	?	?
Bethanath	Ba'neh (Bi'na) ?	'Ainitha, 6 mls WNW of Kedesh-Naphtali?	?
DAN:			
Aijalon	Yalo	Yalo	Yalo
Shaalbim	Selbit??	Selbit	?

This table of locations strikingly shows the advance that has been made in identifying sites in Palestine, and shows also how carefully the older scholars did their work. Such identifications as Moore and Burney felt able to make, stand

almost unchallenged. Modern research has but filled in some of the blanks.

Noth (Josua 76) says that Jsh 13 v 11,13 is based on Dt 3 v 14, Jsh 13 v 11 being practically a gloss on the reference in Dt, and v 11 an interpretation of it in the style of the "Negative ~~Confession~~ List of Possessions" ("des negativen Besitzverzeichnisses") of Jd 1 v 27f. Of Jsh 15 v 63 Noth (ibid,100) says, "The notice in v 63, which is an altered quotation from Jd 1 v 21, is probably the addition of an interpolator, which, in contradiction to Jd 1 v 21, ~~was~~ in contradiction to the system of frontier-definitions (cf Jsh 15 v 8; 18 v 16), and in contradiction to the opinion of the editor (cf 18 v 28), ~~was~~ assigned Jerusalem to the territory claimed by Judah." (This agrees with the view suggested by the present writer on p 63 above. Moore (100 Jd 39), on the contrary, commenting on Jd 1 v 21, surprisingly says, "The author doubtless wrote Judah, which was changed by a later hand to Benjamin.") On Jsh 16 v 10 Noth (ibid 106) says, "V 10 is a somewhat expanded quotation from Jd 1 v 29, and is probably a late interpolation." Noth evidently regards the version of the Confession in Jd 1 as the earlier of the two. And if he is right in viewing Jsh 13 v 13 as a late imitation of the style of the Confession, based on Dt, then the version in Joshua does appear as a mere selection from Jd 1, made in the interests of pro-Judahite history-writing. And this suggests that the Confession as it stands in Jd 1 may well be the complete original. If it is, then it agrees with the Song of Deborah and the description in 2 S 2 v 9 of Ishbaal's kingdom in ignoring Simeon, Levi, and Judah: an impressive coincidence.

Manasseh presents a complex problem. Here the two versions of the Confession diverge considerably, as the following comparison shows:-

Jd 1 v 27,28

Neither did Manasseh drive out the inhabitants of Bethshean & her towns, nor Taanach & her towns, nor the inhabitants of Dor & her towns, nor the inhabitants of Ibleam & her towns, nor the inhabitants of Megiddo & her towns: but the Canaanites would dwell in that land.

And it came to pass, when Israel was strong, that they put the Canaanites to tribute, and did not utterly drive them out.

Jsh 17 v 8-13

Manasseh had the land of Tappuah: but Tappuah on the border of Manasseh belonged to the children of Ephraim. And the coast descended unto the river Kanah, southward of the river: these cities of Ephraim are among the cities of Manasseh: the coast of Manasseh also was on the north side of the river, and the outgoings of it were at the sea: southward it was Ephraim's, and northward it was Manasseh's, and the sea is his border; and they met together in Asher on the north, and in Issachar on the east.

And Manasseh had in Issachar and in Asher Bethshean and her towns, and Ibleam and her towns, and the inhabitants of Dor and her towns, & the inhabitants of Endor & her towns, & the inhabitants of Taanach & her towns, & the inhabitants of Megiddo & her towns, three countries. Yet the children of Manasseh could not drive out the inhabitant of those cities; but the Canaanites would dwell in that land.

Yet it came to pass, when the children of Israel were waxen strong, that they put the Canaanites to tribute; but they did not utterly drive them out.

Where these two accounts run parallel, the Joshua-version presents the appearance of an expanded (and therefore later) version of the Judges-narrative; and this agrees with Noth's view of the other fragments of the Confession in Jsh. Hence, it is likely that Jsh 17 v 8-10, which has no counterpart in the Jd-1 version, was added to record the conditions of an age later than that reflected in Jd 1, or (alternatively) to elucidate difficulties presented by the earlier version. The Wady Qanah runs westwards out of the hills 3 or 4 miles S of Shechem; and Grollenberg (Atlas 163) says that Tappuah is probably Tell Sheikh Abu Zarad, a few miles S of Shechem. On his map on p 59 of the Atlas he locates it about 3 miles S of the Wady Qanah, and only 3 miles NW of Shiloh. Apparently Ephraim claimed the Wady Qanah as its northern border, while Manasseh claimed possession of the cities immediately S of the Wady. These facts become very significant when we realise that Manasseh (Gn 48) was traditionally "the firstborn of Joseph", that in the Gideon-saga (Jd 8 v 1) Manasseh and Ephraim are at daggers drawn, that the Twelve Curses, traditionally associated with Shechem, solemnly curse the remover of a landmark, that the head-waters (when there was any water in them) of the Wady Qanah lay very near to Mount Ebal by Shechem, the traditional scene of the curse in question, and that Tappuah lay very near to Shiloh, the ancient capital of the Ephraimite league. To this striking combination of facts we have only to add the tradition, preserved in parallel versions in Jsh 17 v 14,15 and 16-18, that the Joseph-group, being cramped for room, cleared the woods on the Ephraim Hills, and the possible course of tribal history on those begins to loom out of the mists of antiquity. For it now begins to appear likely that one of towns south of their border to which Manasseh had once laid claim was Shiloh itself. That this town is not named in Jsh 17 v 9 may probably be explained by the fact that when this account was written Shiloh had long since vanished, and Manasseh's claim to it had long ceased to be a matter of practical politics.

It is tempting to connect the tradition in Gn 32 v 28 and 35 v 10 that Jacob was re-named Israel, with Manasseh's northward extension to Shechem. But the tradition links the change of name, not with Shechem, but with Bethel and Peniel. All three were adopted by Jeroboam I as key-points in his ~~northward~~ kingdom; and it seems likely that his accession ~~was~~ inspired an outburst of northern patriotism, which would lead his subjects to cherish old traditions of the north with renewed zeal. Among other historical and traditional memories, they would recall the tradition that a group of semi-nomads, "the sons of Jacob", had once grazed their flocks around "Jacob's Well" at Shechem, Jeroboam I's capital, and were also traditionally associated with Bethel and Peniel. In Gn 10 v 6, Canaan appears as a son of Ham, apparently because Egypt had once ruled the Phoenician coast. Thus, the tradition of a genealogical connection between two tribal or national groups could be established by the mere rule over, or residence in, a land occupied by a group other than the ruling or resident one. Geographical connexions became transmuted into family connections. The Song of Deborah does not mention Jacob. For the present, therefore, it seems wise to leave the Jacob group and Jacob's Well out of consideration.

More important, perhaps, is the fact that Shiloh was only 10 miles north of Bethel. In Jd 1 v 22-26 the Negative Confession is interrupted by an account of the capture of Bethel by "the House of Joseph". This term, which Noth (Josua 106f) regards as an ancient one, occurs also in the second account of Joseph's expansion, in Jsh 17 v 16-18; and this coincidence inclines Noth to bracket Jsh 17 v 16-18 with Jd 1 v 22-26 as parts of the same corpus of tradition, of which Jsh 17 v 14,15 is probably a later variant. The Negative Confession does not

mention Joseph, but speaks only of Manasseh and Ephraim, in that order: an order the more significant since the Confession as a whole begins in the south and moves northwards. The Joseph-tradition in Jd 1 v 22-26 therefore appears as an independent bloc of material, probably of different origin from that of the Confession itself. On the other hand, the words "even to Ephraim and to Manasseh" in Jsh 17 v 17 have the appearance of a late gloss.

Dealing first with the story of the capture of Bethel (Jd 1 v 22f), we note two points of interest. Firstly, it was taken by treachery: almost the only way in which the Israelites at the time of the settlement could hope to take a Canaanite town, in view of the superior weapons and the strong fortifications of those towns. (See Nm 13 v 28.) Similarly, in Jd 18 v 28 we read that the Danites were able to capture Laish because it was isolated and without allies. And this mention of Laish brings us to the second point. In Jd 18 v 29 we read that after taking it the Danites changed its name to Dan. Jd 1 v 23 records a similar change of name, Bethel having formerly been called Luz. Jsh 18 v 28 notes that Jerusalem, which it assigns to Benjamin, not Judah, was formerly called Jebusi. Jd 1 v 10, 11, & 17 make similar statements about the Negeb cities of Debir, Hebron, and Hormah. May we not regard these name-changes as hallmarks of genuinely early Israelite and Judahite conquests? Albright ~~dates~~ (Arch. Pal. 108, 109) dates the destruction of Debir and Lachish about 1200 B.C., and that of Bethel, probably, in the early 13th century, but possibly in the late 13th century.

Bethel, in its turn, lies (according to Grollenberg's Atlas, Map 13) about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles NNE of Gibeon, which is named in the ancient poetic fragment in Jsh 10 v 12b, and which was ~~only~~ one of a league of four cities with whom Israel had a treaty of friendship. Thus, in Shiloh, Bethel, and Gibeon we have three names deeply rooted in early OT tradition; and the distance from Gibeon, NE-wards, to Shiloh, is only 15 miles. Here, accordingly, the writer would venture to locate the earliest area occupied by the Joseph-group, of whom Manasseh were traditionally the parent-body.

Of the parallel stories in Jsh 17 v 14-18, the second, which (as we have seen) Noth regards as the earlier, assigns "the mountain" to the Joseph-group; and this perhaps means simply the Ephraim Hills. The other account (v 14, 15) suggests that the Ephraim Hills were too narrow for the group, who accordingly went elsewhere. Probably Transjordan is meant. Thus, the second version seems to depict the settlement of Manasseh-West, by the gradual clearing of timber in a northerly direction; while the other version, modelled upon the first, relates the settlement, presumably at a later date, of a Manassite colony in north Transjordan. Apparently Manasseh, like Dan, moved northwards, but for a shorter distance. Presumably Dan's removal was later than Manasseh's; otherwise Dan also could simply have helped to clear the woods, instead of going to all the trouble and risk of a long removal to the far north and an attack upon Laish. In the Song of Deborah Manasseh and Ephraim appear as separate tribes, and Dan, ~~apparently~~ apparently, are already in the far north. Both removals, therefore, must date back before the defeat of Sisera. North of Shechem, the West-Jordan ridge bends round towards the NNW, and eventually runs out to sea in Mount Carmel. Of the towns named in the Negative Confession as being unconquered by Manasseh, Bethshean lies down in the Jordan Valley, far below the eastern slopes of the ridge, while Dor lies on the coast below the western slopes of Carmel, the final

outlier of the ridge. Ibleam, Taanach, and Megiddo, also mentioned in the Negative Confession, lie close under the ridge on its eastern side, Ibleam being about 26 miles N of Shiloh and Megiddo $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles farther to the NW. Without modern machinery, it must have taken some considerable time - perhaps many years - for Manasseh's timber-clearing operations to advance thus far. The state of affairs depicted in the Negative Confession therefore seems to belong to a period much later than the first settlements of the Joseph-group, yet at least a few years earlier than Dan's removal to Laish. The fact that the towns named flank the ridge on either side confirms the tradition in Jsh 17 v 16-18, and points to Manasseh as the particular section of the Joseph-group that cleared the woods and so advanced northwards.

Naturally, the other sections of this group, Ephraim and Benjamin, could not similarly expand southwards; or at least, not to any great extent, because in this direction Jerusalem barred the way, as recorded in Jd 1 v 21. Hence, it is reasonable to suppose that at some period after the settlement, the tribe which afterwards called itself Ephraim began to exert a steady and increasing pressure northwards upon the rear of Manasseh, and presently encroached on lands formerly held by Manasseh. Since these lands lay around, or near to, Shiloh, and since there is no evidence that Ephraim ever advanced beyond Shechem, it seems likely that the area between Shiloh and Shechem (a distance of $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles) marked the farthest limit, and therefore the latest stage, of Ephraim's advance. This inference, if justified, strengthens the possibility that Shiloh belonged to Manasseh before it belonged to Ephraim. The friction between Ephraim and Manasseh, in the days of Gideon (Jd 8 v 1), suggests that in his days this presumed encroachment was still comparatively recent, and that the memory of it still rankled. Albright (Arch.Pal. 117, 118) identifies the defeat of Sisera with the destruction of Megiddo VII, which he dates around 1125 B.C. Alt (Kl.Schr. I 257, 258) prefers to identify it with the destruction of Megiddo VI. Shiloh was destroyed about 1050 B.C.; and the present writer, in view of the apparent reference to the Philistine expansion in Ex 15 v 17, which seems to refer to Shiloh, has suggested that Shiloh can hardly have been built much before 1150. Gideon, the father of Abimelech, stands near to the threshold of the Monarchy, and must therefore have been later than the Battle of Megiddo. The settlement of the Joseph-group probably belongs to the late 13th century. Between the building of Shiloh and the formation of the large-scale Israelite league that faced Sisera, we must surely allow a lapse of some years. And Gideon's campaign must surely be some years earlier than the Philistine destruction of Shiloh. So we obtain the following tentative reconstruction of events:-

Late 13th cent. Joseph-group settle on Ephraim Hills.
 Early 12th cent. Philistines arrive.
 Late 12th cent. Philistine expansion. Shiloh built. Manassite expansion.
 End of 12th cent. Battle of Megiddo
 Early 11th cent. ~~Megiddo~~ Gideon and Abimelech.
 Mid-11th cent. Philistines overrun central Palestine and destroy Shiloh.
 Late 11th cent. Samuel and Saul.

It will be seen that this is a fairly tight booking, especially in regard to the building of Shiloh and the expansion of Manasseh. It looks as if the date suggested above (c 1150) for the building of Shiloh must be regarded as the latest possible, and if anything, it may have been earlier. But apart from the apparent reference to the Philistines in Ex 15 v 17, it can hardly have been much

earlier, since it seems unlikely that newly-settled semi-nomads, who were probably slow to settle, would speedily proceed to the building of a town. The re-occupying of a destroyed Canaanite town is, of course, another matter; and Albright (Arch. Pal. 113) suggests that even this was probably slow at Bethel, though quicker at Tell Beit Mirsim.

Further evidence regarding the date of these events is provided by the general shape of Map II, which treats the ~~XXXX~~ unconquered towns of the Confession as marking the limits, for the period represented by the Confession, of Israelite expansion. The map is based on Grollenberg, with one exception. Moore and Burney found Aphik hard to identify. Grollenberg's location of it is surely too far north. He places it deep in the heart of Syria, far beyond the areas defined by the other towns mentioned in the Confession. As noted in an earlier chapter, the OT phrase "unto great Zidon" has a colloquial and proverbial flavour, reminiscent of our modern phrase, "All the way to Timbaktu." This suggests that Sidon itself, let alone places yet farther north, ~~was~~^{lay} far beyond the usual frontiers of Israel.

In treating these towns as boundary-landmarks, the writer is not denying that the Israelites probably found employment in them and gradually rose to positions of influence and importance. This may have been especially true of the sea-ports, where the Hebrew genius for business must have found a peculiarly rich field for its talents. The pen is proverbially mightier than the sword - especially in Jewish hands. The writer has a deep admiration for the Jewish race, and gladly acknowledges that, broadly speaking, Jewish influence in finance and business has been one of the great civilising influences in world-history.

The boundary ~~between~~ of Zebulun, and the western boundary of the Joseph group, as depicted on the map, are both frankly conjectural and approximate. But since we find Zebulun assisting Naphtali in the conquest of Hazor, it probably held land adjacent to that of Naphtali; and this can hardly have been anywhere but on the south side of Naphtali. Here it must have been wedged in between Naphtali and the teeming Canaanite cities of the plain. The coastal plains stopped Israel's advance on the west, as Jd 1 tells us.

No attempt is made here to ascertain the inter-tribal frontier between Ephraim and Benjamin. The latter, to judge by the evidence of the Confession, was very much a strip-territory, running at right-angles across the West-Jordan ridge; and this suggests grave doubts of Noth's theory (System, 37, 66, 80) that Benjamin were already settled there long before the men of Ephraim and Manasseh arrived. On Noth's theory, there must have been some particularly bloody fighting before Benjamin were finally forced up against the ramparts of Jerusalem, and there brought to a dead stop. No trace of such fighting remains in the OT record. And Noth himself (System, 82) suggests that the men of Benjamin helped the Ephraimites to settle! Moreover, in 2 S 19 v 20, when David, after Absalom's death, crosses the Jordan on his return from Gilead to Jerusalem, Shimei the Benjamite (see v 16) greets him with the words, "I am come the first this day of all the house of Joseph to go down to meet my lord the king." Here, in some of the earliest traditions of the OT, is clear proof that Benjamin was reckoned a part of "the house of Joseph"; and its name, "son of the South", bears out the statement. It must surely have been simply the southern frontier-region of the Ephraimite league, and afterwards, of the northern kingdom. That Saul made it the core of his kingdom is probably due partly to his own ability and partly to that of the Benjamites themselves. But originally, it would seem, both Ephraim and Benjamin were geographical names.

At present we are not concerned with the Southern tribes, which do not appear in the Negative Confession in Jd 1. In v 8 of this same chapter they are credited with the conquest of Jerusalem, but this is surely an ~~anachronism~~ anachronism! In Jd 1 v 1-20 they are said to have conquered Hebron, Debir, and Hormah; and if these traditions, which evidently come from a different corpus of tradition from that of the Confession, relate to a period anywhere near to that of the Confession then their northern frontier can hardly have been much farther north than Hebron, which is about 18½ miles south of Jerusalem. A Canaanite area nearly 20 miles wide must therefore have separated Judah from Benjamin. The wonder is not that they had an independent history from that of Israel until David united the kingdoms, but that these kingdoms united as quickly as they did.

Before we attempt to draw general conclusions from the Confession, one more point remains to be discussed. This is the relationship between the names Machir and Manasseh. Both the Pentateuch and the Chronicler treat Machir as the "son" of Manasseh, and the "father" of Gilead. Nm 32 v 40 sums up this view of the matter: "Moses gave Gilead unto Machir the son of Manasseh; and he dwelt therein." But in the Song of Deborah Machir and Gilead seem to be entirely separate provinces. Machir (v 14) is grouped with Ephraim, Benjamin, Zebulun, and Issachar, all having been present at the battle. Then in v 17 we read, "Gilead abode beyond Jordan". And as the Song does not mention Manasseh, it seems probable that at this date Machir was the name of the tribe afterwards known as Manasseh, West of Jordan. Manasseh, not Machir, appears in the Gideon-saga, and in the Negative Confession; and in both cases it evidently means Manasseh-West. In Jd 11 v 29, on the other hand, we read that Jephthah (who in Jd 11 v 1,5 is a Gileadite, appointed as war-leader by the ~~elders~~ elders of Gilead) "passed over Gilead and Manasseh" and attacked Ammon. This must mean Manasseh-East. Moore (ICC Judges xxiv) assigns the older narratives in Judges to the 7th century, so that between the date of composition of the Song of Deborah and that of the older sagas in Judges, on Moore's reckoning, there is a gap of over 400 years. This would bring the change of name to a date somewhere within the first half of the Monarchy, which is perhaps as much as can be said.

At the period represented by the Negative Confession, Manasseh-West has advanced far along the ridge towards Carmel, but is flanked on both sides by Canaanite and Philistine areas: the Canaanites on the north-east, the Philistines to the south-west. Zebulun is similarly debarred from Esdraelon. This seems to correspond to conditions shortly before the battle of Megiddo, but not to any date much earlier than this. Ishbaal's kingdom included the province of Jezreel; and it is unlikely that his kingdom was wider in extent than that of his father Saul. Thus, it seems that the Confession represents the state of affairs about the middle of the period of the Judges.

Turning now to the King-List in Jsh 12 v 9f, we observe that Noth (Josua 71, 72) regards it as an ancient list, of unknown origin, used by the editor of Jsh. He believes, however, that the opening verses of the list (v 9-13a) are an editorial addition based on the Joshua-sagas in Jsh 1-10. This theory, if correct, gets rid of the awkward reference in v 9 to "the king of Ai", a town that had been a heap of ruins for centuries before the Israelites arrived in Palestine. These verses are therefore omitted from the digest of the list which is given overleaf.

THE KING - LIST IN Jsh 12 v 13b - 24		
Town	Grollenberg's Atlas	Noth, "Das Buch Josua"
SOUTH-WEST:		
Geder	?	?
Hormah	Tell-el-Mishash, ESE of Beersheba	Tell-el-Mishash
Arad	Tell-'Arad, S of Hebron	Tell-'Arad
Libnah	Tell-es-Safi	Tell Bornat
Adullam	Tell-esh-Sheikh-Madhkur, nr. 'Id-el-Ma	Khirbet-esh-Sheikh-Madhkur
Makkeedah	Khirbet-el-Kheishum	?
CENTRAL:		
Tappuah	Tell Sheikh Abu Zarad, S of Shechem	Tell Sheikh Abu Zarad
Hepher	Tell Ibshar?	Tell Ibshar
Aphek	Ras-el-Ain	Tell-el-Muchmar
Lasharon	? = "belonging to Sharon"?	?
NORTH:		
Madon	Qarn Hattin, W of Sea of Galilee	Qarn Hattin
Hazor	Tell-el-Qedar	Tell Waqqas
Shimron-Meron	Khirbet Samuniyeh? 5 mls W of Nazareth	Marun
Achshaph	et-Tell?	?
Kedesh(Nphtal)	Tell Qades, NW of Lake Huleh	?
Jokneam	Tell Qeimun, SE of Mt. Carmel	Tell Qeimun
Tirzah	Tell-el-Far'ah	Tell-el-Far'ah

Noth's locations agree closely with Grollenberg's, and make it possible to plot the map of the King-List with considerable confidence. The case of "Gilgal" (v 23) was debated in a previous chapter, when it was suggested that this was perhaps a reference to the president of the Galilaean league. Grollenberg reads "Lasharon" in conjunction with the previous name as "Aphek of Sharon", there being other Apheks in the near East. It will be noted that even excluding v 9-13a, the list includes places on the borders of Judah as well as those in the central and northern areas. This seems to point to a source dating from the united Monarchy. The Negative Confession states that when the Israelites "grew strong", they laid certain towns under tribute. This is most likely to have happened under David; and consequently the King-List may well be a list of city rulers liable to David and/or Solomon for tribute, and responsible to the crown for the administration of their own areas. The list may also have served the incidental purpose of a frontier-list, since many of the towns it names doubtless did lie on the borders: and the list certainly enables us to draw the map of Israel for the period which it represents. The inclusion of Bethel as a tributary-town may seem odd; but, of course, for David and Solomon this is precisely what it was. Indeed, this fact supports the probability that the list dates from the united Monarchy; for ~~under~~ under the divided Monarchy Bethel became a royal city. If we accept Noth's exclusion of v 9-13a, the omission of Jerusalem and Hebron confirms this dating, since under David and Solomon these were royal cities, while Bethel was not.

One would have expected the list to include Transjordan; but this omission ~~is due to the compiler~~ may be due to the compiler. There may have been a supplementary list for Transjordan, which naturally would not serve the compiler's purpose in crediting the conquest of these cities to Joshua. That Joshua did not conquer them all is overwhelmingly likely; and in any case, the cities of Dor, Megiddo, and Taanach appear in the Negative Confession as unconquered cities

which in due course became tributary to Israel.

That the King-List represents a considerably later stage than that revealed by the Negative Confession, is evident from a comparison of Maps II and III. The map of the King-List (III) shows Judah thrusting out an eager finger towards the NW, with Adullam lying on the tip of the finger, and a similar thrust coming down to meet it from the SW corner of Israel. It is evident that David chose Adullam for his bandit stronghold with an eye on future possibilities. Indeed, it may be that it was his career of brigandage in these wild glens and hills which added the district to the territory of Judah.* In 1 S 30 v 26-31 we read that David won the favour of the south with gifts of booty to various southern districts, including "all the places where David himself and his men were wont to haunt." As a strategic point in his campaigns, Adullam was unrivalled, commanding, as it did, the southern tribal lands of Judah, the SW approaches to Saul's kingdom, and the Philistine strongholds. Here he could play off these three powers against one another, as best suited his purpose of the moment; and here he had an ideal recruiting-ground for the desperate and broken men who joined his ranks. These considerations make it seem more than ever probable that the King-List is based on administrative records of the later reign of David, and that the places named in it represent the extent of David's coalition-kingdom, apart from Transjordan and perhaps a few far-flung outposts.

When we compare the King-List with the Negative Confession, the former appears as the logical development of the latter. And the considerations discussed above make it seem probable that the Negative Confession represents the state of affairs in the middle period of the Judges, or thereabouts, while the King-List represents David's fait-accompli, and reveals something of his administrative arrangements. The list suggests that his method was the time-honoured one, dating back to the Hyksos, of leaving local rulers in peaceful possession of their cities so long as they became his servants, recognised his authority, and paid their dues promptly. Yet it may be that David, like the wise statesman that he was, drew the net considerably more tightly than the Egyptian pharaohs had done, when they became masters of the disintegrated Hyksos feudal system. We do not know how much local autonomy David allowed his underlings; but we may be fairly sure that once the worst crisis of Absalom's revolt was over, David would take care to make and keep himself master in his own kingdom - if not always in his own palace.

The writer believes that the evidence examined in the present chapter tends to confirm the impression given by the Song of Deborah and the earliest prose traditions generally, that the men of Judah, though doubtless closely akin to the Israelites in race, language, and general religious and moral ideas, were yet a distinct tribal group, which was linked in an uneasy partnership with the north only during the reigns of David and Solomon. In the following chapters we shall examine other ancient Hebrew tribal songs, and consider whether they paint the same general picture as that painted by the documents so far examined.

* But see p 116, in re Sn 38

PART TWO. THE BLESSINGS OF JACOB AND MOSES

Chapter 12. THE BLESSING OF JACOB.

Modern OT scholars exhibit a marked reluctance to discuss the literary history of the Blessing of Jacob (Gn 49) and the Blessing of Moses (Dt 33). In "The OT and Modern Study" (ed. Rowley), the only reference to this matter is Albright's declaration, (p 33) already quoted, that both poems are old and in the Ugaritic stype. Noth (GI 55) describes them as "collections of short, descriptive sayings, partly laudatory, partly provocative or satirical, probably current in the tribal circle from a remote age, collected without definite system and individually probably dating from diverse periods of uncertain age." Thereafter he uses the evidence of Gn 49 and Dt 33 without further enquiry into their literary history. Alt, in his "Kleine Schriften", contents himself with a few references to Gn 49 v 14,15 (Issachar). Rowley, in "From Joseph to Joshua", p 8,113,114, similarly refers only to the notices of Simeon and Levi in Gn 49. Oesterley, however, in his "Ancient Hebrew Poems", discusses both poems in some detail; and his views will be examined in due course. But for lack of more guidance from such works as the writer has been able to consult, he feels impelled to approach the subject by a direct study of the text. He is not anticipating that this method will lead to startling discoveries overlooked by others; but in the circumstances this approach may perhaps prove as profitable as any other.

Oesterley (op. cit. 9), speaking of Gn 49, says, "It will be noticed that the various 'blessings' differ in length; this, it may be safely surmised, was not originally the case; it is due to the working over of later scribes." On this the present writer would suggest two comments: first, that where several notices of one tribe appear, the first is probably, but perhaps not inevitably, the earliest: and second, that it seems possible to extract from the extant poem something approximating to its original form. With regard to the second point, the tree and animal motif is strongly marked in the songs, and may perhaps have had its counterpart in Israelite art during the Monarchy, when that art first began to be of some account; though the songs in question are perhaps pre-monarchic. Issachar, we learn, is a bony ass: Naphtali is "a hind let loose" - which should perhaps be translated "a spreading terebinth": Joseph is a fruitful bough: Benjamin is a wolf. These metaphors naturally suggest totems, and recall the example of those old "boar" and "cat" tribes whose names are enshrined in the names of the Scottish counties of Orkney and Caithness. But there are salient reasons why the animals and trees in Gn 49 are unlikely to be totems. For there is OT evidence, in names of tribal groups and family ancestors, of other animal-names, which do not coincide with those in Gn 49. Thus, "Leah" probably means a cow, and "Rachel" a sheep; while "Nun", Joshua's "father", means either a snake or a fish: probably the former. Some of the Israelites raised sheep and some cattle; while a snake-cult, associated with Joshua's priestly and military predecessor, Moses (Nm 21 v 9), was so deeply rooted in Israel that its main cult-object, a bronze snake, was still extant in the reign of Hezekiah (2 K 18 v 4). These animals were apparently either cultic or occupational symbols, or, still more probably, both combined; and this is perhaps the main origin of totems. If the animals in Gn 49 are also totems, they are in sharp conflict with these other animals. Benjamin, a member of the "sheep" group, is - of all things - a wolf! Judah, who belongs to the "cow" group, is a

lion; an equally alarming apparition among domestic animals. And the snake turns up, not in the tribe of Ephraim, to which, we are told, Joshua belonged, but in that of Dan.

If the trees and animals in Gn 49 be not totems, it seems even less likely that they are signs of the zodiac. Their simplest explanation is that they are what they purport to be: nicknames characterising the usual behaviour or circumstances of each tribe. Oesterley (AHP 10) says that this figurative use of trees and animals "indicates a time when men were in close touch with wild nature; the reminiscences of nomadic life were still vivid; so that elements in our poem must belong to the period of the early settlement in Canaan." Oesterley's conclusion may well be true; but surely not for the reason that he suggests. For the wild creatures were still in Palestine late in the divided Monarchy. In 2 K 17 v 25 we read that after the downfall of Samaria and the deportations to Assyria the lions began to multiply in Samaria. And there are plenty of lions in the pages of the Iliad, which was the literary product of a city-civilisation.

But if these metaphors do not presuppose any definite period, they may help in separating out the different strata of the poem. Thus, there are four notices of Judah, respectively v 8, v 9, v 10, and vv 11,12, and two notices of Dan. And in both cases the second notice is an animal metaphor, which fits into the general scheme of the poem better than the first notice. (Incidentally, in v 9, the words "From the prey, my son, thou art gone up", with their abrupt transition into the second person, read like a late gloss. Their removal leaves us with a three-line verse, similar in structure to the Benjamin-song.) It begins to appear possible that we see at these points in Gn 49 the intersection of two tribal song-cycles, one containing tree and animal metaphors, the other without them. Three occasions in Israelite history suggest themselves, when tribal or national amalgamations might have led to a corresponding literary union of two such song-cycles. The first is that somewhat misty event, suggested by certain OT traditions, and accepted by Noth (System, 70) as true history; the supposed union of later Israelite immigrants with earlier ones. The second is David's accession to power, if we assume (as the evidence previously examined seems to suggest) that he brought into the united Monarchy certain southern elements that had not belonged to Saul's kingdom and had not previously been regarded as Israelite. The third occasion is the exile in Babylon, when the later arrivals from Judah may have mingled their traditions with those of the much earlier wave of exiles from Samaria. This question will call for detailed discussion a little later; but in the meantime the general possibility of an amalgamation of two song-cycles may be explored as a purely literary problem, without regard to the possibility that it was the outcome of historical events, or the question of the identification of those events.

This possibility that two intertwined song-cycles underlie the extant text of Gn 49 is strengthened by the curious fact that although the Joseph-song contains the longest and the most emphatic blessings of the whole poem, the Rachel group, of which Joseph formed the main bulk, or indeed (as the writer believes) originally the entire bulk, does not stand first in the poem, but is relegated to the very end. The superlative emphasis upon Joseph would suggest that the poem as a whole had been preserved by northern tradition: yet the precedence accorded to the Leah group suggests rather a southern tradition, ~~more~~ especially when we note that the Judah-song is the second longest in the poem. Thus, the poem reflects the familiar division between north and south. This division

does not necessarily belong only to the periods of the divided Monarchy. The strife between north and south broke out at David's coronation (2 S 19 v 40-43); and 2 S 3 v 1 informs us that in the preceding years there had been "long war between the house of Saul and the house of David". The division had its roots deep in the past.

Mention has been made of the Leah and Rachel groups. The existence of the latter as a self-contained group is an evident fact of Israelite history and geography, and presents no difficulty. Its relegation to the end of the poem is also understandable if the general compilation was the work of a southern poet. He would naturally put Judah before Joseph. What is puzzling is the Leah-group, which links Issachar and Zebulun with the southern tribes; a link nowhere visible in the traditions and songs examined in the previous chapters. For the moment, no attempt will be made to explain this mysterious link-up. That the Leah-six group, as we find it in Gn 49, was an accepted literary tradition of the OT, is evident from the number of tribal lists which preserve it almost entirely intact. In analysing the structure of Gn 49 this fact may be accepted as a useful guide, albeit a mysterious one.

The birth-traditions in Gn 29,30 describe Issachar ^{& Zebulun} as a second Leah-group, which presumably joined the first four Leah tribes at a comparatively late date. It is ~~this~~ union which constitutes the mystery of the Leah-six grouping. Each ~~of~~ of the Leah groups is comparatively simple to understand in itself. Issachar and Zebulun possessed adjoining lands; and the writer has already suggested that they may have formed an amphictyony centred on a sanctuary on Carmel, and occupied with combined sea and land transport. The first Leah group may also be fairly easy to explain, since the lands of Reuben and Simeon seem ultimately to have become absorbed into the expanded territory of Judah. Levi appears in the OT as a broken, landless tribe, reminiscent of some of the broken and scattered clans of Scotland: the MacPhees, for example. Traditionally it had once been closely linked with Simeon; and there is nothing intrinsically impossible in this. Thus, although the linking, in Gn 49, of the two Leah groups seems inexplicable, one *may* make sense out of the structure of the poem by assuming that its general grouping was a purely literary invention, and that its historical basis lay in the sub-groups which we seem to discern in it. Thus, Asher and Naphtali were neighbours; and their link-up in Gn 49 may reflect the similar link-up which seems to underlie the reference, in 2 S 2 v 9, to "the Ashurites", as a province in Ishbaal's kingdom. As already suggested, it would be quite natural for the wealthy sea-ports of Asher to extend their influence over the hinterland of Naphtali, until they came to dominate Galilee. And, as we have seen, the Rachel group presents no difficulty. A grouping of a different type is perhaps discernible in the three animal-songs of Judah, Benjamin, and Joseph: these songs do not now stand together. The first Reuben-song and the First Judah-song also seem to be similar, since each begins with an emphatic personal pronoun, "ATTA". These also are separated in the extant poem. Altogether, the only safe conclusion seems to be that each song was originally an independent composition, that various small groups of songs may (or may not) have been combined, with some dovetailing, to form the present compilation, and that in any case the literary history of the poem seems to have been too involved and too uncertain for any sure historical conclusions to be drawn from it. The only safe way of using the poem as historical evidence would seem to be that of treating the songs within it as independent units, and examining each on its own merits. As we have noticed, this is the way in which Noth and Rowley and other modern scholars use the poem.

The date of Gn 49 is as hard to ascertain as its structure. As a compilation it is perhaps most likely to date from the united Monarchy, with later additions. But in addition to the alternative periods mentioned earlier, it could date from any period after David. Those alternatives were mentioned for the sake of completeness; but there are obvious objections to them. The supposed union of two tribal groups under Joshua appears to the present writer a very shadowy and uncertain event: the fusion of traditions during the Exile is too late, in view of the fact that Gn 49 was incorporated into the older sources of the Pentateuch. But the writings of the Prophets show that despite all differences and disagreements between Israel and Judah, they also had a strong sense of kinship and common destiny. As Ionians and Dorians fought together against the Persians, and as Scots and English prisoners in Japan during the second world war felt themselves to be comrades in distress, and representatives of the same British race, so Judah must surely have shared in Israel's rejoicing over Jeroboam II's victories over Syria; while the downfall of Samaria must have shocked and grieved Judah inexpressibly. But this fellow-feeling probably did not develop all at once. England was once upon a time "the auld enemy" of Scotland: a fact to which "the auld alliance" bears eloquent witness. And 1 K 15 makes it clear that the earlier kings of Judah did not hesitate to make common cause with Syria against Israel. Jehoshaphat appears as the obedient ally of Ahab against Syria: possibly because he had no choice. And even as late as the days of Jehoash, the father of Jeroboam II, we find (2 K 14 v 8f) his contemporary, Amaziah of Judah, flushed with his victory of Edom, venturing to attack Israel, and suffering a sharp defeat. Perhaps the change of feeling came in the next reign, that of Jeroboam II, which, as previously suggested, seems to have ushered in a renaissance for both kingdoms. If the compilation was made as late as this, it may well have included the complete songs of Judah and Joseph in their extant forms. The victories, after severe setbacks, described in the Joseph-song are as likely to have been those of Jeroboam II as any others.

The main difficulty in accepting this conclusion is caused by the more orthodox theories of the Pentateuch. If Gn 49 is older than E and J, which surround it, can it be as late as Jeroboam II? It may be, therefore, that the main bulk of the Judah and Joseph songs date from the late Monarchy and the rest, or most of it, from the early Monarchy. So far as the men of the late Monarchy were concerned, the Judah and Joseph songs would express most of what they wished to say. The other songs, for them, would mainly have a sentimental or antiquarian value. And by the time of Jeroboam II, Issachar's serfdom and the joint disgrace of Simeon and Levi were events of the remote past. It is, indeed, tempting to think that the entire poem is nothing more than an antiquarian's collection of tribal songs, old and new, a sort of "Hymns Ancient and Modern" of the late Monarchy. This theory would at least explain the oddly heterogeneous nature of the compilation, while it would solve very neatly (too neatly, perhaps) the riddle of the conjunction of Issachar and Zebulun with the other Leah tribes. This, of course, involves believing that the other tribal lists and the birth-traditions in Gn 29,30 have all been modelled on the tribal sequence in Gn 49, as indeed they may well have been. We may then suppose that some poet at Jeroboam II's court added v 2 and v 23-26, while Judahite poets of the late Monarchy were responsible for v 8,10-12, and possibly for v 9 also, since it looks like a patched-together version of Nm 24 v 9 and Dt 33 v 22. This last theory would exclude the Judah-songs altogether, and leave us with a collection that might well be of northern origin.

from the song and compilation
Naturally, these theories are only named here as possibilities. Tentatively, perhaps, one might guess

perhaps, one might suggest that the earliest nuclei of the songs were collected some time before the Syrian War, and the later portions were added at one or more dates after it. But in view of the enmity between Israel and Judah during the early reigns of the Divided Monarchy, the most likely period of the original compilation, if it is to be dated before the Syrian War, would seem to be the united Monarchy. The separate songs in the original compilation would then represent traditions of the Judges and the early Monarchy.

An examination of the original nuclei, so far as one can pick them out, serves to strengthen this impression. They will be examined in detail later: here it may perhaps suffice to say that the songs of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi are traditionally associated with events which the compilers of Genesis assign to the patriarchal age: Issachar's serfdom seems to belong to the period of the Judges: "Dan the snake" may possibly signify brigandage at Laish: "Judah the lion", whether original or borrowed, may symbolise David's victories, and "Benjamin the wolf", Saul's gallant struggles against the Philistines: Gad's victories may be those recorded in 1 Chr 5 and assigned to the age of Saul: and since, in 2 S 15 v 12, a stone or cairn on Carmel is traditionally associated with one of Saul's victories, Zebulun may have occupied the coast by the time of the united Monarchy. The references to Asher, Naphtali, and Joseph, would fit any of the more prosperous ages of Israelite history, and could therefore date from the later years of David or the earlier ones of Solomon.

One must, however, put a question-mark against Joseph. Was this name in popular use in the days of David? A glance at ~~the~~ any standard concordance shows that ~~the~~ outside of the Hexateuch the name of Joseph is far less common than that of Ephraim. In Hosea, for example, Joseph never occurs, but Ephraim is named 36 times. First-Isaiah, also, never mentions Joseph, and mentions Ephraim 12 times. Jeremiah, similarly, mentions only Ephraim, ~~at~~ 4 times. Amos, however, mentions only Joseph, 3 times. In Judges and the four Books of Kings the name of Joseph occurs only 5 times, in the formula, "the house of Joseph", three of these being in the brief notice of the taking of Bethel in Jd 1. Ephraim occurs only once in the four Books of Kings, in the description of Ishbaal's kingdom in 2 S 2 v 9. It is fairly common in the sagas of Gideon and Jephthah in Judges. On the whole, this evidence suggests that Joseph, as the name of a tribal group, was not very common before the late Monarchy, and even then was not nearly so often used as Ephraim. It is possible that the tomb of Joseph at Shechem, traditionally associated with the patriarch of that name, was the royal burial-place of the kings of Israel. If so, ~~the~~ use of "Joseph" as a national label would have a royalist and patriotic connotation. But against the possibility that the term, "the house of Joseph", ^{is late} it could be argued that we encounter this formula on two significant occasions, one of which we have previously noticed. In 2 S 19 v 20, Shimei the Benjamite is "the first of all the house of Joseph" to meet David on his return from Gilead. And in 1 K 11 v 28, Solomon makes Jeroboam "ruler over all the charge of the house of Joseph". The former text occurs in what many scholars consider to be a contemporary history of David, and is therefore of special importance in the present instance. It would seem that we cannot exclude the possibility that the first verse of the Joseph-song in Gn 49 may date back to the united Monarchy.

Difficult and uncertain as the investigation of the date and origin of Gn 49 seems to be, that investigation ~~by~~ leaves the impression that the original compilation was essentially antiquarian in outlook. Can the ancient history of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi have been of practical importance in the days of David? This question will be considered further in the following chapter.

Chapter 13. THE LEVITES.

The song of Simeon and Levi (Gn 49 v 5) is generally reckoned one of the oldest parts of the Blessing of Jacob, because it describes Levi as a secular tribe with weapons and property. Apart from tribal lists, the only other OT passage that links Simeon and Levi together is the story of the Shechem massacre in Gn 34; and critics very reasonably assume that the historical basis of this story, whatever it may have been, underlies the reference in Gn 49 v 5. In the historical books, Shechem makes its first appearance in Jd 8,9, in the saga of Gideon and Abimelech, who belonged to the tribe of Manasseh. The connection of Simeon and Levi with Shechem must date back before this. In Jd 1, Simeon, without Levi, joins with Judah in the early conquest of cities in the Negeb; so that, apparently, even at this early date, Simeon's association with Levi had come to an end. Nowhere in the historical books do we meet with a territorial tribe of Levi. In Judges, two Levites appear, in the stories of the outrage at Gibeah and of Dan's conquest of Laish. (Jd 17f) The Levite in the latter story is a priest in private employ, who becomes the first priest of Dan at Laish. Already, it would seem, the Levites were a priestly tribe. But this story in Jd 17,18 gives one the impression that the profession of the private priest was not a very exalted one socially; and this is confirmed by the frequent references in Dt to Levites, where they regularly appear in a context which leaves little doubt as to their status. Dt 14 v 27-29 is typical:

"And the Levite that is within thy gates; thou shalt not forsake him; for he hath no part nor inheritance with thee...And the Levite (because he hath no part nor inheritance with thee), and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, which are within thy gates, shall come, and shall eat and be satisfied, that Yahweh thy God may bless thee in all the work of thine hand which thou doest."

Other pleas for the Levite, in almost identical language, may be found in Dt 12 v 12,18,19; 16 v 11,14; and 26 v 11-13. The writer is not aware of any part of the OT that speaks more convincingly than these reiterated pleas. ~~Like~~ The date of Dt. is a vexed question into which it is perhaps hardly necessary to enter here. If we assign its composition to the second half of the Monarchy, then it is evident that at this time the Levites in general were still in the condition in which we seem to find them in Judges: a broken, landless clan, who wandered about, glad to find employment anywhere. We know that David, in his cave at Adullam, gathered an army of broken and desperate men; and it is tempting to conjecture that some Levites may have joined his ranks, and that this was the beginning of the Levitical priesthood at Jerusalem. But this evidence in Dt. suggests that even if David did find employment for some Levites, most of them were unaffected by it.

We hear very little about Levites in the earlier OT writings. Even in the Psalter (which, of course, belongs to many dates), there is only one reference, in the doxology of Ps 135 (v 19-21), a three-fold invocation calling on the houses of Israel, Aaron, and Levi to bless Yahweh. This suggests a date long after the return from exile, when the dissensions between Aaronites and Levites had at length been amicably settled; and it is therefore not surprising to find Briggs (ICC Psalms II 478) stating that this psalm cannot be earlier than the late Greek period. And although the pre-exilic prophets have plenty to say about the priests, their references to the Levites are confined to one short section in Jeremiah (ch 33 v 18-22), a section which anticipates the return, and is therefore at the very least late exilic. Thus, the only ancient poetic reference to Levi in the entire

OT appears to be the brief verse in Gn 49 v 5. Its continuation, in v 6,7, is full of personal fury, which strongly suggests that ~~this~~ second section of the song reflects far later events, possibly the ecclesiastical quarrels of the post-exilic period. It certainly does not seem to fit the story in Gn 34, which accuses Simeon and Levi, not of undermining a wall (or, perhaps, "hamstringing an ox"), but of violating a treaty of friendship. The Levi-song in Dt 33 evidently refers to the priestly Levites, and concludes (v 11) with anathemas that seem likely to refer to these same post-exilic quarrels. (See Oesterley, Hist. Is., II, 141.)

When we turn from poetry to prose, we are again struck by the scant attention paid to Levites in Judges and the four Books of Kings. The references in Judges we have already noticed. The only ones in the books of Kings are ~~2~~ in 1 S 6 v 15; 2 S 15 v 24; 1 K 8 v 4; and 1 K 12 v 31. The first of these concerns that dramatic occasion when the Philistines, scared by an epidemic which they ascribed to the anger of Yahweh, loaded the ark with gifts and sent it back to the Israelites. We are told that the men of Beth-Shemesh looked up from their harvesting, and, to their astonishment, saw the ark arriving on a cart drawn by milk-kine. At this moment (v 15) the Levites suddenly appear from nowhere, lift down the ark, and promptly disappear again. Thanksgiving sacrifices are then offered, not (as we might expect) by the Levites, but by "the men of Beth-Shemesh" (v 15). Since the Hebrew verb contains within itself the personal pronoun in all its finite forms, the omission from its text of the words "the Levites" would leave a perfectly grammatical statement that the men of Beth-Shemesh lifted down the ark. The reader will have little hesitation in ascribing this meteoric appearance and disappearance of the Levites to the hand of some late redactor.

In 2 S 15 v 24 David, fleeing from Absalom, crosses Jordan with all his supporters, including "Zadok also, and all the Levites with him, bearing the ark." David then persuades Zadok to return to Jerusalem; and in v 29 we read, "Zadok therefore and Abiathar carried the ark of God again to Jerusalem." We note that whereas Zadok and all the Levites bring the ark away, only Zadok and Abiathar take it back. It would, of course, be easy to rationalise this discrepancy; but the most probable explanation, surely, is that here again we see the hand of the redactor.

The reference in 1 K 8 v 4 concerns Solomon's dedication of the temple, and is the only occasion when both Chronicles and Kings use the formula, "the priests and the Levites". The context in Kings consistently refers only to the priests; and again a late redaction seems the most likely explanation.

The remaining instance, 1 K 12 v 31, presents a much more serious difficulty. Both Chronicles and Kings state that Jeroboam I appointed non-Levite priests; and the Chronicler adds the statement that Jeroboam ejected the Levites, who found refuge with Rehoboam. But here the Chronicler entangles himself in an inconsistency. If we accept his theory that David and Solomon concentrated the worship of Yahweh within the city walls of Jerusalem, what legitimate office could Levites have held in the north? One finds oneself looking with suspicion on the Chronicler's story of Levite refugees. If it be deleted from the narrative, what remains? Only the statement that Jeroboam appointed priests who were not Levites. Apart from this one point, the Levites are never mentioned in the corresponding passage in Kings. Certainly, the statement implies that Levites

were then employed at Jerusalem: but it does not actually say so: and we are entitled to question whether this reference to them was contained in the compiler's sources. Beneath the surface of the present narrative in 1 K 12, with its strong bias against Jeroboam, one can detect a pro-Jeroboam source, ^{like the pro-Saul source underlying} just as one can do in the history of Saul in 1 Samuel. That original version probably described how Jeroboam restored the old kingdom of Israel (which excluded Judah) on the basis of the ancient Israelite league, centred upon the syncretised worship of Yahweh and Baal-Berith, the patron god of Shechem. The compiler who pulled the narrative into its present shape has contrived to make all Jeroboam's arrangements look like fraudulent imitations of the institutions of David, as the compiler himself conceived them, David's Yahweh-cult having been, in his view, the only legitimate one.

This theory that the few references to Levites in the historical books (apart from Jd 17-20) are late redactions, is supported by Snaith's statement in "The OT & Modern Study", p 104/5, that the two extant books of Kings consist of an original compilation, c. 610 B.C., plus northern tales of the prophets, added probably by the 550 B.C. editor, plus "numercus annotations and glosses, some under the influence of P and some of it as late as the second century B.C." The writer ventures to conclude, therefore, that nowhere in Judges or in the four books of Kings is there any real proof of the existence of a Levite priesthood, save only in private employ, and in the sanctuary at Dan, both as described in Jd 17,18. And it seems certain that this story, plus Gn 49 v 5, are the only reliable references to Levites throughout the extant pre-exilic Hebrew poetry and the pre-exilic historical works of the OT. In the Pentateuch, apart from the notices in Dt. already described, the vast majority of references to Levites belong to P.

Yet in Jsh 21 we find a long ^{list} of Levitical cities, traditionally founded by Joshua. Speaking of this list (which the older scholars assigned to P), Albright ("The Biblical Period", 25) says, "Examination of the list of Levitic cities, according to which four places in each tribe were designated for the residence of priests and Levites, makes it certain that - unless the original list was a late fiction, for which it is extremely hard to find plausible grounds - it must go back to the latter part of David's reign (or the very beginning of the reign of Solomon), since it was only then that the towns in question were all part of Israel, according to historical and archaeological indications, and only then that the political background was suitable. By distributing the priests and Levites over the country, David weakened them politically at the same time that he ~~xxx~~ contributed to the spread of normative Yahwism."

While not venturing to dispute Albright's dating, the present writer does query his inference from his own conclusion. For, as we have seen, pre-exilic OT poetry and historical writing (outside the Hexateuch) almost totally ignore the Levites. This hardly suggests that David found it necessary to ~~weaken~~ weaken their influence. In the light of the story in Jd 17,18, examined above, it seems more likely that (as Noth, "System", 113, suggests) for a long time the amphictyonic cult of Yahweh existed peacefully alongside more localised cults, and had no quarrel with these. It seems probable, therefore, that the cities listed in Jsh 21 were those with local sanctuaries and priests important enough for inclusion in David's "Crockford". Later tradition recognised three orders of Levites, the respective sons of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari (1 Chr 6 v 1); while in Jsh 21 the "sons of Aaron" appear as a subdivision of the Kohathites. (Laish, or Leshem, is not mentioned in Jsh 21.) In Jsh 21 the Aaronites reside in

Simeon, Judah, and Benjamin: the remaining Kohathites in Ephraim, Dan, and Manasseh-West: the Gershonites in Manasseh-East, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali: and the Merarites in Reuben, Gad, and Zebulun. In short, the Kohathites occupy all West-Jordan south of the Vale of Jezreel, plus Dan (the original lands of Dan in central Palestine): the Gershonites occupy Galilee, (minus Zebulun) and Bashan: and the Merarites live in Zebulun and the remainder of Transjordan. The three "sons of Levi", therefore, seem to have been simple territorial divisions of Palestine.

It is but fitting that Martin Noth, with his profound knowledge and genius, should make the challenge which the present writer does not feel competent to make. In his "Josua", p 131, Noth begins by pointing out that both the tribal divisions and the cities of refuge are probably additions to the original list in Jsh 21. He claims that the list is post-deuteronomic: a fact in ~~no~~ way disproved by the fact that most of the places on the ~~list~~ ^{are of uncertain date,} are ancient sanctuaries. The levitical divisions (Kohath, etc), ~~appear to belong to the original list,~~ though the sundering of the Aaronites is post-exilic. Noth also remarks that these divisions, though normal in P, are apparently unknown in Ezra 2 v 40 = Neh 7 v 43. The Kohathites, including the Aaronites, approximately cover the southern kingdom at the end of the Monarchy, but with North Judah, including Jerusalem, surprisingly omitted. Samaria also is totally lacking. Albright (says Noth) overlooks these two omissions; and consequently his conclusions are not valid. Noth continues:-

"In view of these omissions one might assign the list to a very late period; one, certainly, in which the Samaritan secession was not yet complete (for the Samaritan Pentateuch contains in Nm 35 v 6,7 a reference to Jsh 21), yet the estrangement between Jerusalem and Samaria had already grown so great, that from Jerusalem's viewpoint levitical claims were not recognised in Samaritan families; and one could then explain the omission of the old Judaic province on the assumption that the list was compiled as a statement of those Palestinian towns in which, outwith the province of Judah as the centre of the Jerusalem cultic communion, i.e. in the "diaspora" of Palestine, there lived levitical families who, at least in theory, possessed cultic rights in the temple at Jerusalem. The towns in southern Galilee (Gershonites) and in southern Transjordan (Merarites) may then represent a diaspora which had always existed in these regions and which is definitely proved for the later Maccabaeon period. (Cf Hölscher, 'Palestine in the Persian and Hellenistic Ages', p 74f.) Against this late dating, admittedly, is the fact that 'Joshua' contains no other traditions equally late; and also the difficulty of adequately explaining the omission of the old Judaic territory. For this reason Alt's theory merits preference, that the peculiarities of the list are to be explained by the cultic and political measures taken by King Josiah, who 'brought all the priests out of the cities of Judah, and defiled the high places where the priests had burned incense, from Geba to Beersheba,' (2 K 23 v 8) and at the same time 'slew all the priests of the high places...in the cities of Samaria', so that in those districts there were no longer any priests (= 'Levites'). It is then only necessary to assume that the bringing in of the priests between Geba and Beersheba was not fully completed, especially in south Judaea, and that the list is a statement of the levitical families still remaining outwith Jerusalem. The list will then date after Josiah but before the Restoration."

Noth's mention of Joshua ~~bringing~~ brings us to a consideration of the levitical references in that book, together with those in Dt not already noticed.

Apart from Jsh 21, Joshua contains 7 references to Levites, of which 5 (Jsh 13 v 14,33; 14 v 3,4; 18 v 7) repeat the familiar statement that they had no lot or part ~~for~~ among the Israelites. These appear to be late additions to the accounts of the allotments, which are themselves late, being assigned by the older scholars to P or to D2. In the two remaining references (Jsh 3 v 3; 8 v 33), "the priests the Levites" bear the ark. This formula, "the priests the Levites", occurs also in Dt 17 v 9,18; 18 v 1; 24 v 8; and 27 v 9; and, together with the pleas not to forsake or neglect the Levite, referred to above, complete the references to Levites in Dt, save for Dt 18 v 6,7; 27 v 14; ~~and~~ 31v 25; and the Levi-song in Dt 33. In this formula, "the Levites" looks like a later addition, and suggests that at some late period - perhaps after the Exile - the term "Levite" came to be occupational, meaning simply a priest, as "Canaanite" could mean a trader. In the older traditions, two men suffice to carry the ark: Zadok and Abiathar in 2S 15 v 29, and the two sons of Eli in 1 S 4 v 4. Zadok and Abiathar, according to 1 Chr 6, were Aaronite Levites. The two Levites in Judges 17f are associated with Bethlehem, David's birth-place, one of them being a native of Bethlehem, while the other had a concubine from that city. David may well have found employment for Levites from Bethlehem; and the bearing of the ark, as we have noted, only required the services of two men. Perhaps, then, it became a tradition at Jerusalem to employ only Levites to carry the ark: or possibly the ark-bearers came to be known as "Levites", irrespective of their ancestry, in memory of the tradition that David's ark-bearers had been Levites.

The Chronicler, as one might have expected, frequently mentions Levites. Many of his references occur in passages not to be found in the books of Kings. These are briefly noted below.

(a) Whole narratives, occurring only in Chronicles.

- 1 Chr 6 Genealogy of Levi
 - 9 Leading citizens of Jerusalem
 - 28 References to Temple
- 2 Chr 13 Abijah's speech to Jeroboam
 - 17 Jehoshaphat's Levite teachers and judges
 - 20 Jehoshaphat's "alleluia-victory"
 - 30 Hezekiah's Passover
 - 31 Hezekiah's tithes

(b) Shorter sentences and sections, only in Chronicles.

(Corresponding sections in 4 Books of Kings are given in brackets.)

- 1 Chr 12 (2 S 5) List of Levites
 - 21 v 5 (2 S 24 v 9) "Levi and Benjamin counted he not among them", etc
 - 23 (2 S 23)(Statistics) List of Levites
- 2 Chr 8 v 14,15 Solomon's temple-arrangements (1 K 9)
 - 29 (2 K 18) Details of Hezekiah's reformation
 - 35 (2 K 23) Details of Josiah's Passover

In addition to all these, there are sentences in the books of Kings which the ~~Chronicle lists separately, following identical phrases containing references to Levites.~~ Chronicler has reproduced, with additional phrases of his own referring to Levites. These are listed on the following page.

(1) David's abortive removal of the ark. 1 Chr 13

1 Chr 13 v 2 "and with them also to the priests and Levites which are in their cities and suburbs." (Not in 2 S 6 v 1,2.)

(2) The ark is brought to Jerusalem. 1 Chr 15.

v 2. "None ought to carry the ark of God save the Levites." (Not in 2 S 6)

v 4 "David assembled the children of Aaron and the Levites"

v 15 "The children of the Levites bare the ark."

v 16 "David spake to the chief of the Levites" etc

v 27 "All the Levites that bare the ark...were robed..."

1 Chr 16 v 4. "He appointed certain of the Levites to minister before the ark."

(3) Solomon dedicates the temple. 2 Chr 5. (1 K 8)

2 Chr 5 v 12. "The Levites the singers" etc

2 Chr 7 v 6. "The Levites also with instruments of music" etc

(4) Solomon's arrangements. 2 Chr 8. (1 K 9)

v 14,15 "He appointed...the priests...and the Levites" etc

(5) Queen Athaliah murdered. 2 Chr 23. (2 K 11)

v 2 "They gathered the Levites" etc

v 6 "Let none come in...save the priests, and they...of the Levites" etc

v 18 (Temple-officers appointed) "by the hand of the priests, the Levites" etc

(6) Josiah's Reformation. 2 Chr 34 (2 K 22)

v 12,13 List of Levite overseers and musicians.

In this table, as in the previous one, the references in brackets show the corresponding passage in Kings, which does not mention Levites.

There remain a limited number of allusions to Levites in Chronicles which run strictly parallel to sentences in Kings. They are given below:-

Chronicles	Kings
<u>The ark is brought to Jerusalem</u>	
1 Chr 15 v 4. THE PRIESTS AND THE LEVITES sanctified themselves to bring up the ark.	2 S 6 v 15. DAVID AND ALL THE HOUSE OF ISRAEL brought up the ark.
v 26. When God helped THE LEVITES that bare the ark...that they offered	v 13. When THEY that bare the ark of Yahweh had gone 6 paces, he (David) sacrificed...
<u>Solomon dedicates the temple.</u>	
2 Chr 5 v 4. THE LEVITES took up the ark.	1 K 8 v 3. THE PRIESTS took up the ark.
v 5. The holy vessels...did THE PRIESTS AND THE LEVITES bring up.	v 4. The holy vessels...did THE PRIESTS AND THE LEVITES bring up.
<u>Jeroboam's & Rehoboam's arrangements.</u>	
2 Chr 11 v 13,14. THE PRIESTS AND THE LEVITES that were in all Israel resorted unto him (Rehoboam)...THE LEVITES left their suburbs, etc.	1 K 12 v 31. He (Jeroboam) made priests of the lowest of the people, which were not of THE SONS OF LEVI.

(Continued overleaf

ChroniclesQueen Athaliah murdered.

2 Chr 23 v 4. A third part of you...
OF THE PRIESTS AND OF THE LEVITES...
shall be porters of the doors.
v 7. THE LEVITES shall compass the
king around.
v 8. THE LEVITES AND ALL JUDAH did
according...

Kings

2 K 11 v 5. A third part of you...shall
be ~~x~~ keepers of the watch.
v 8. YE shall compass the king round
about.
v 9. THE CAPTAINS OF HUNDREDS did
according...

Joash's temple-repair-fund.

2 Chr 24 v 5. Joash gathered THE
PRIESTS AND THE LEVITES...
v 6. Why hast thou not required of
THE LEVITES to bring in...the
collection?
v 11. The chest was brought unto the
king's office by the hand of THE
LEVITES...

2 K 12 v 4. And Jehoash said to THE
PRIESTS,...
v 7. King Jehoash called for...THE
PRIESTS, and said,...Why repair ye not...?
v 9. THE PRIESTS that kept the door put
therein all the money...

Josiah's Reformation.

2 Chr 34 v 9. The money...which THE
LEVITES THAT KEPT THE DOORS had
gathered...
v 30. And the king went up into the
house of Yahweh, and all the men of
Judah, and the inhabitants of
Jerusalem, AND THE PRIESTS AND THE
LEVITES, and all the people...

2 K 22 v 4. The silver...which THE
KEEPERS OF THE DOOR have gathered...

2 K 23 v 2. And the king went into the
house of Yahweh, and all the men of
Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem
with him, AND THE PRIESTS AND THE
PROPHETS, and all the people...

=====

DIGEST OF THE ABOVE PARALLELS.Chronicles

The Levites
ditto
The Levites and all Judah
The Levites that bare the ark
The Levites that kept the doors

Kings

The priests (3 times)
Ye (the rulers and captains)
The captains of hundreds
They that bare the ark
The keepers of the door

The priests and the Levites

ditto
ditto
ditto
ditto

The priests and the Levites
The priests and the prophets
The priests
You (the rulers and captains)
David and all the house of Israel

From the above facts it is evident that the Chronicler's references to the Levites are superimposed by him on those written sources upon which he drew; and that the versions of these narratives in Kings are far nearer to the original than in the Chronicler's version. Most of the Chronicler's references to Levites are simple additions to the narrative; and those that are not, introduce an element of standardisation that is very evident in the above digest. When we find the Chronicler substituting "the Levites and all Judah" for "the captains of hundreds"

or ~~"the priests and the Levites"~~

or "the priests and the Levites" for "David and all the house of Israel", little doubt can remain that most of his levitical references are anachronisms, of which the compilers of Kings, who probably wrote during the late Monarchy, knew nothing. And, as Oesterley makes clear (Hist. Is. II), the Chronicler seems to have been involved in, or at least concerned about, the dissensions in the second temple long after the Restoration. Behind his incessant mention of Levites there probably lie strong partisan motives.

In view of these facts, the references to Levites in Dt., other than the pleas on their behalf, certainly look like late additions. Dt 10 v 8,9 might well be a definition of levitical duties dating from some period long after the Restoration, and in regular use in that late period in the training and ordination of Levites. These duties comprise the same two functions which the Chronicler, in those inserted sentences and phrases noted above, regularly assigns to the Levites: namely, carrying the ark, and providing the temple music. In modern ecclesiastical language, they were choristers and servers. Like members of religious communities, as individuals they possessed no land or property. The coincidence between these levitical functions in Dt 10 v 8,9 and those in the Chronicler's insertions is so complete, that the writer has no hesitation in assigning these two verses to a post-exilic redactor of the same school of thought as the Chronicler. They really have nothing to do with their present context; and when they are removed from it, that context gains enormously in force and coherence.

All or part of the three statements in Dt 10 v 8,9 - that the Levites carried the ark, provided the music, and owned no property - are repeated in Dt 18 v 1; 21 v 5; 31 v 9; and 31 v 25; and the first three, at least, of these notices can easily be detached from their contexts, which are better without them. We may note, also, that Dt 24 v 8, in which the Levites advise in cases of leprosy, is parallel to Lev 13 & 14, which speak only of "the priest", never of "the priests the Levites". And in Dt 17 v 9, which deals with courts of appeal, the reference to "the judge" sounds much more like the original text than that to "the priests the Levites": "And thou shalt come unto (the priests the Levites, and) unto the judge that shall be in those days, and inquire." All these references to Levites may surely be regarded as late redactions, as may also the two references in Jsh 3 v 3 & 8 v 33, where the ark is carried by "the priests the Levites", but elsewhere in these chapters simply by "the priests". And whereas in Dt 17 v 18 & 31 v 9 the Levites are required to read the law, and in Dt 27 v 14 they are to recite the Twelve Curses, in Jsh 8 v 34 it is Joshua himself who reads "the blessings and the cursings, according to all that is written in the book of the law". Evidently the tradition, whatever historical facts may have lain behind it, was liquid, and the Levites were no indispensable part of it.

Finally, we may note that whereas in Gn 49 v 5f the Levites are landless because they are under a divine curse for an atrocity which they once committed, in Dt 10 v 8,9 they are landless because Yahweh is their inheritance. A greater contrast of ideas could hardly be imagined; and it is evident that the first explanation is an old popular tradition, and the second one a post-exilic rationalisation. And the evidence examined above seems to suggest that before the Exile the levitical priesthood was in the main one of private employment, carrying with it little social prestige. There remains the question of the historical basis, if any, of the tradition in Gn 49 v 5 and Gn 34; and this will be discussed in the following chapter, in connection with the traditions of the OT relating to Simeon.

Chapter 14. PATRIARCHAL TRADITIONS IN Gn 49.

The songs of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi in Gn 49 appear~~ed~~ to be connected with the patriarchal traditions of these tribes in Gn 34 & 35 v 21,22. These traditions link Simeon with Levi, and describe how they made a disastrous attempt to settle at Shechem. The traditions in Jd 1 v 3-20, on the other hand, depict Simeon as joining, not with Levi, but with Judah and the Kenites, and attempting, successfully this time, to settle in the Negeb. Since they appear to have remained in or around this area throughout the periods of the Judges and the Monarchy, as did also the men of Judah and ~~many~~ some, at least, of the Kenites, these traditions in Jd 1 correspond broadly with reality, at least in their results, and probably also, essentially, in their account of the ~~southern~~ events of those southern settlements. That account commends itself to one's belief, because in place of the ~~idealised~~ idealised Pentateuchal conception (carried forward and further developed in Joshua) of a pan-Israel exodus and invasion, it depicts localised, independent settlements: a much more probable picture.

If Simeon were domiciled in or around the Negeb from the early days of the Judges until the captivity, the disaster at Shechem depicted in Gn 34 must have happened before Simeon settled in the south, and may well represent the earliest attempt of Simeon and Levi to settle in Palestine: though, of course, they may have sojourned there as semi-nomads for many years before this attempt was made. And since there is no OT tradition that they attempted to settle in a third area (the events in 1 Chr 4 v 41-43, in which Simeon displace Amalek in the far ~~SW~~ SW, being also located in the same general area as those in Jd 1, and being, in any case, ascribed to the later Monarchy), it would appear that the settlement in the Negeb probably followed fairly soon after the disaster at Shechem.

The tradition of Reuben's disgrace in Gn 49 v 3 and Gn 35 v 21,22 would fit very conveniently into this general picture, were it not for the awkward fact that in Gn 35 it is Israel who journeys into the south and hears of Reuben's disgrace. If we here interpret "Israel" as meaning the northern tribes, we must assume that at some early period the Rachel-group, still, apparently, in the semi-nomadic stage, sojourned "beyond the tower of Edar" (Gn 35 v 21). The Lexicon identifies this landmark as a watch-tower near Bethlehem, mentioned also in Micah 4 v 8: "And thou, O tower of the flock, (Hebr. MIGDOL-'~~EDAR~~, precisely as in Gn 35) the strong hold of the daughter of Zion..." If we interpret "Rachel" as "sheep" and "the sons of Rachel" as "sheep-breeders", then Rachel's grave, probably an ancient Chalcolithic standing-stone which the Rachel-group used as a pasture boundary-mark, must surely have marked the southern limit of the land which they normally occupied. This landmark is mentioned in Gn 35 v 19,20, an aetiological story which immediately precedes that of Reuben's downfall, and which locates Rachel's grave ~~at~~ near "Ephrath, which is Bethlehem". It seems possible that Ephrath may have given its name to the Ephraim Hills, and so indirectly to the incomers who settled there and afterwards called themselves the tribe of Ephraim. And if the Tower of Edar, "the Tower of the Flock", lay in the same vicinity, this fact may explain the juxtaposition of these two stories, Gn 35 v ~~20,21,22~~ 19,20, and v 21,22. Indeed, if we may interpret "Rachel's Grave" as "the sheep's grave", the names of these two landmarks are so strikingly similar that they may well have been close together, if indeed they were not two names for the same landmark. Thus, the question arises, Who were the "Israel" who sojourned "beyond" the "Tower of the Flock"?

Events in Gn 35 move gradually southwards from Shechem to Bethel and Bethlehem. This may, of course, simply mean that a number of independent local traditions have been arranged in this order by the compilers of Gn 35, possibly for use on pilgrimages such as that satirically described by Amos 5 v 5: "Seek not Bethel, nor enter into Gilgal, and pass not to Beersheba" - though Amos only mentions one of the towns that figure in Gn 35. In any case, the sequence of places in Gn 35 implies that "beyond the Tower of the Flock" means south of it. Nowhere else in the OT (apart from the patriarchal stories of Jacob and Rachel) does there seem to be any suggestion that the Rachel group lived south of Bethlehem; while in Jd 1 we definitely find Simeon and Judah proceeding from Jericho to the Negeb. One seems forced to the conclusion that in Gn 35 v 21,22, "Israel" means the Leah-group, not the Rachel-group, and that the southward movement in Gn 35 v 21 is probably identical with the one described in Jd 1 v 3-20. Scholars have suggested that the name Israel in the J-source often corresponds to Jacob in the E-source; and it is a fact that the older documentary theory ascribes v 19,20 of Gn 35, ~~the~~ which mention Jacob, to E, and v 21,22, which mention Israel, to J. In any case, Gn 49 v 2, the introductory verse of the Blessing of Jacob, uses the two names in parallel. This parallelism, so familiar in the OT, will call for fuller discussion later; meanwhile we may note that there does not seem to be any real reason why Gn 35 v 21,22 should not refer to the Leah-tribes rather than the Rachel-group.

Although it may not be wise to trust too implicitly to the sequence of the stories in Gn 31-35, it must be admitted that, broadly ~~schem~~ speaking, they assume a shape that fits very well into the general history of Palestine in the late 14th and early 13th centuries, so far as it is known to us. Disregarding such details as seem to belong to the realm of popular story-telling, we learn in these chapters that the Jacob-group came from Padan-Aram, which Grollenberg (Atlas 158) identifies with Aram-Naharaim, i.e. upper Mesopotamia; and that somewhere near Penuel they had a dispute with the Laban-group which ended in a truce and the ~~erection~~ erection of a boundary-stone. In this locality Jacob is also associated with Succoth in the Jordan-Valley (which was popularly supposed to be named after booths built there by Jacob) and with the theophany of a nameless night-demon on Penuel, a hill overlooking the Jordan by the mouth of the Jabbok-glen near to Succoth. Since Succoth, according to Glueck (Jordan, 151), had been occupied in the Middle Bronze Age (18/17 ct. B.C.), and much later by the Israelites; and since "Penuel" means the face or presence of El, an old Canaanite god who appears in Ugaritic literature as an individual deity, it would appear that long before the Jacob-group came here, the Canaanites had already syncretised the local deity with El (subsequently forgetting his original name), and that the patriarchal cult of Jacob's god ("the fear of Jacob" according to the AV, but more probably "the kinsman of Jacob") became localised at Penuel and syncretised with the El-cult there. Here is one area which we can surely recognise, beyond any doubt, as an early place of residence of the Jacob-group; and if we adopt Noth's very reasonable theory (GI 117,118) that the patriarchal sagas represent tribal movements which formed part of the Aramaean Wanderings of the late 14th and early 13th centuries, then the Jacob group almost certainly entered Palestine from the NE, exactly as they are described in Gn 31 as doing; and the Succoth-area, near Penuel, must have been the part in which they first sojourned. It is an unusually fertile corner of the Jordan Valley, watered by the strong perennial stream of the Jabbok, which here emerges from its deep glen to join forces with the Jordan. Such an area would naturally attract a semi-nomadic pastoral group.

It is worth noting that Gn 31 v 43 emphasizes the close kinship between the Laban and Jacob groups, and thus supports the probability that both took part in the same Aramaean migration from upper Mesopotamia. But since Jacob seems to be mainly associated with the West-Jordan ridge, it seems likely that after a time the Jacob-group deserted the Peniel-Succoth area. Possibly the Laban-group expanded and forced them out, boundary-stone or no boundary-stone. The western ridge, being composed of limestone, and being situated in one of the driest parts of Palestine, has far fewer perennial streams than the Transjordan hills. By a rare coincidence, one of these perennial streams emerges from the West-Jordan ridge and joins the Jordan very near to Succoth. This stream, the Wady Far'ah, drains a large glen which emerges into the Jordan Valley directly opposite the mouth of the Jabbok glen; and it leads up to the northern slopes of Mount Ebal, a sacred hill with ancient cultic associations (see Dt 28 and Jsh 8 & 24), on the southern side of which lay the town of Shechem. Hence, it seems likely that if the Jacob-group were forced out of the Succoth area, either by the expansion of the Laban-group or by some quarrel with the local Canaanite cities, they may simply have moved over the Jordan into the Wady ~~Foot~~ Far'ah, and so found their way to Shechem. Perhaps they were still in a transitional state between a semi-nomadic and a settled life. At any rate, the fact that an ancient well near Shechem was called Jacob's Well, and figures in Dt 33 v 28 as "the fountain of Jacob" and perhaps in Ps 68 v 28 as "the fountain of Israel", strongly suggests, apart from the evidence of Gn 34, that the Jacob-group settled here. The marriage-alliance described in Gn 34 suggests that they now intended to abandon their semi-nomadic life and settle permanently here. The plan ended in disaster; and it is entirely probable that they were forced to flee. Although Simeon and Levi only are named as the instigators of the massacre, the fact that the well was traditionally "Jacob's Well" and not "Simeon's" or "Levi's Well" suggests that the whole group (which was perhaps quite small) were here.

The next link in the chain of evidence is the probability, examined in an earlier chapter, that before the Joseph-group arrived, Reuben, traditionally the "firstborn" of Jacob, settled in and around el-Ghor, from which they were perhaps displaced by the arrival of the Joseph-group from the south. Gn 35 represents the fugitive Jacob as travelling south from Shechem down the West-Jordan ridge. In the circumstances his journey seems incredibly leisurely. One would have expected an instant post-haste flight: instead, we are told that the group underwent a purification-rite, after which they buried their idols at Shechem, proceeded to Bethel, and there erected and solemnly dedicated a sacred pillar. This sequence of events is surely the work of the compiler, who has strung together local traditions in geographical order. It seems more likely that the fugitives fled down the Wady Far'ah and the Jordan Valley. Alt (Kl. Schr. I 183, 186) suggests that when the Joseph-group first reached Jericho it was already in ruins, with a colony of prostitutes, using a red cord in the window as a professional sign, occupying a house ~~next~~ in the wall that had escaped the general demolition, and that an old aetiological tale about this house has been woven into the late and fanciful account of the capture of Jericho in Jsh 2f. If the Reuben-group grazed their flocks in el-Ghor not very long before the arrival of the Joseph-group - say, less than 80, or even than 40 years previously - there may well have been few townsfolk at Jericho to dispute their right to the adjacent oases.

Alongside the above reconstruction may be set an alternative possibility. When the Jacob-group left Succoth, perhaps only Simeon and Levi went to Shechem, while ~~Reuben, and perhaps Judah~~

while the rest proceeded straight to Jericho, which is only about 24 miles downstream from Succoth. This theory would certainly harmonise with the fact that Gn 34 mentions only Simeon and Levi, not Reuben; but it hardly seems to do full justice to the traditional associations of Jacob ~~xx~~ with Shechem. According to these traditions, not only did the town-well of Shechem come to be known as Jacob's Well, and not only did the Jacob-group intend a marriage-alliance with the royal family in Shechem, but they bought a plot of land there (Gn 33 v 19,20) and built thereon an altar, traditionally known as El-elohe-Israel: "El, God of Israel". And in Jsh 24 v 32 we read that Joseph's bones were buried in this plot. Doubtless we have here a fusion of the traditions of the northern kingdom with those of the old Jacob-group who had roamed these hills before Joseph arrived. One suspects that this ground was the traditional sepulchre of the northern kings, beginning, perhaps, with Jeroboam I, or even with Abimelech; and that these kings were glad to associate themselves with the ancient Jacob-traditions. This fusion of tradition is perhaps summed up in the tradition, in Gn 32 v 28 and Gn 35 v 10, that Jacob was re-named Israel; and this tradition is associated with Bethel and Peniel, two of Jeroboam I's key-points (1 K 12 v 25,29). But Jacob's plot may well have been the burial-plot of the Jacob-group while they lived at Shechem. In "OT & Mod. Study", p 4,5, Albright describes such a patriarchal necropolis, dating from the Middle Bronze Age, which was discovered in the Wady Samieh, 8 miles NE of ~~Bethel~~ Bethel. He states that such burial-grounds, owned by semi-nomadic groups, were especially characteristic of the Hyksos Age. But semi-nomads are the most conservative of folk, and may well have continued this custom of purchasing ~~mini~~ burial-plots into the Late Bronze Age. But this evidence suggests that the Jacob-group sojourned at Shechem for many years, or even for several generations, and that this was the traditional burial-ground of the whole group, not merely of Simeon and Levi.

The incident, mentioned in Gn 35 v 21,22, Gn 49 v 4, and 1 Chr 5 v 1, which occasioned Reuben's downfall, is cryptic in the extreme. Whatever it may have been, we read in Gn 35 v 21,22 that it happened when "Israel" had journeyed "beyond the Tower of the Flock" into the area S of Bethlehem and was dwelling there. If this be the same southward migration from Jericho that is described in Jd 1, we may perhaps regard el-Ghor as the distribution-centre of the Leah-tribes. And if Issachar and Zebulun were really Leah-tribes, they may have reached north Palestine either directly from Shechem, after the massacre, or up the Jordan Valley from Jericho, a little later. This early period seems to be the only time, between the first settlements and the Exile, when a logical explanation presents itself of that alleged link between these and the other Leah-tribes which is reflected in Gn 49, in the later tribal lists, and in the birth-traditions of Gn 29,30.

A scattering of the Leah-group from Jericho would also offer an explanation of the possible fate of Levi. We have noted the association of Levites with Bethlehem in Jd 17f; and Bethlehem is the locality mentioned in the southward migration of "Israel", described in Gn 35 v 21,22. If Simeon, escorted by the Kenites (Jd 1 v 16) proceeded from the SW corner of el-Ghor by one or other of the wadys climbing westward into the Judah Hills, they would gain the ridge-top somewhere near Bethlehem. Here, perhaps, the Levites found employment in the town, while the others (i.e. Simeon and the Kenites) continued southwards beyond Arad. a town which Grollenberg (Atlas 142) locates S of Hebron.

These are only conjectures; but they seem to fit the scanty evidence which the OT offers regarding these southern settlements. This evidence is mainly contained in Jsh 14 v 12b-15; Jsh 15 v 14-19; Jd 1 v 3-20; and Nm 14 v 45. Budde (cited by Moore, ICC Jd, 6) remarks that these traditions form a continuous narrative in Jd 1 and parallel scattered sections in Jsh, and that where these parallel narratives diverge, the Joshua-version often seems to be the more original one.

Of the passages enumerated above, Jsh 14 v 12b-15 appears to be merely a late amplification of the tradition given in Jsh 15 v 13 = Jd 1 v 20, which states that Caleb settled in Hebron and expelled "the three sons of Anak". Jsh 14 v 15 states that Hebron was formerly called Kirjath-Arba, "which Arba was a great man among the Anakim". The Lexicon, with greater probability, interprets Kirjath-Arba as "the fourfold city"; presumably a city of four nationalities, each having its own quarter. Hebron had a well-established wine-trade (as Gn 49 v 11, which humorously states that wine was ~~so~~ so cheap in Judah that people there used it for washing their clothes!); and this local industry doubtless kept the place busy and attracted traders of various nationalities.

Jsh 15 v 14-19 = Jd 1 v 10-15 are parallel stories of the conquest of Debir by "Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother", and the granting of springs to Othniel at the request of his wife Achsah, Caleb's daughter. The two accounts are identical, save that in Jsh 15 v 14 Debir is conquered by Caleb, and in Jd 1 v 10 by Judah. But in Jsh 15 v 13 we read, "And unto Caleb the son of Jephunneh he (Joshua) gave a part among the children of Judah." That evidently means that Caleb was originally an independent tribe, which became a member of that group here described as "the sons of Judah". In view of Noth's theory that Judah was really the name of a hill-range in the south of Palestine (GI 56), the probability that the mention of Judah in Jd 1 v 10 is a late substitution for an original "Caleb" becomes rather significant. For we have already (p 63 above) found a similar circumstance in Jd 1 v 21 = Jsh 15 v 63. There also it is likely that ~~Benjamin~~ is the original name and Judah a late substitution. Furthermore, we find the Judah/Caleb reference in Jd 1 v 10 following close upon the fantastic statement in v 8, "Now the children of Judah had fought against Jerusalem, and had taken it, and smitten it with the edge of the sword, and set the city on fire." This is surely a gigantic anachronism.

Thus, the tribe of Judah begins to assume a shadowy appearance. Is it not possible that here the Hebrew word לְגִיּוֹן means, not a "tribe" in the usual sense of a group of common ancestry, but, in the sense suggested by the Hebrew basic meaning of לָקֶטֶט (rod, sceptre), an "authority" - that is, a league? The "sons of Judah" who made up this league would then comprise all the tribal groups who settled on the Judah Hills, regardless of their tribal origin in the ordinary English sense. (This English meaning would imply that the Hebrew word could be used to mean a branch, of a tree, or of a family-tree; and the Lexicon seems to know nothing of such a usage, whereas the word was very frequently used to mean a weapon of defence or of punishment. Defence against aggressors and punishment of crime would naturally be the main work of a league, so that the word was perfectly suited to the expression of the authority of such a league.) On this theory, the statements in Jd 1 v 3, 5f, 17 that Simeon and Judah conquered Adoni-Bezek and destroyed Hormah in joint enterprises really mean that these were league-enterprises, involving some or even all of the groups comprising the league.

The reason that especially disposes one to take this view of the tribal history of Judah, is the fact that Hebron, the very capital of Judah, and the city where David was crowned, was really settled, not by Judah, but by Caleb. The writer's suggestion that Judah was really a league, which included Caleb and the other Negeb tribes, is supported by the repeated statements in Jsh 19 v 1b,9, that Simeon had their lot "within the inheritance of the children of Judah". And v 9 adds the significant statement that "the part of the children of Judah was too much for" Simeon; "therefore the children of Simeon had their inheritance within the inheritance of them." Here, it would seem, we see a southern historian regarding the past from the viewpoint of his own age. His statement is evidently intended to explain the vanishing of Simeon as a separate tribe. There is, indeed, a simple reason, ready to hand, why Simeon, Caleb, and the other Negeb tribes should have disappeared. They were simply consolidated into one kingdom under David. The smallness of that kingdom and its constituent elements may well explain why these tribes ceased to retain their individuality when the much larger tribal areas of the north remained distinct. When David was crowned at Hebron, Ephraim alone was probably as large as his entire kingdom.

There may be another reason why David's kingdom was not mapped out into tribal territories like Saul's. Some of the Negeb tribes probably remained semi-nomadic far into the divided Monarchy. Jeremiah, writing in the very last days of the Monarchy, speaks of the Rechabites, a Kenite clan that had sworn never to forsake the wandering tent, and who kept their vow until the Babylonian threat compelled them to take refuge in Jerusalem. It is not surprising that the traditions of such wandering tribes tended to be confused and obscure, not only in regard to their place of abode, but in regard to events in which they took part. Robinson (Hist. Isr. I 118/9) points out that Nm 14 v 39-45, Nm 21 v 1-3, and Jd 1 v 16f, relate three different versions of the origin of the name of Hormah, a desert outpost of David's kingdom which Grollenberg locates about 12 miles ESE of Beersheba. According to the OT writers themselves, the name means "Ban", indicating that it had been totally destroyed; though in fact it probably means "city of refuge", a sanctuary for murderers, where they might escape a blood-feud and stand a trial instead before a priestly court of law. In the first version of the tradition, Amalek and Canaan repulse an Israelite attack: in the second, Israel destroy Hormah as a reprisal for the king of Arad's raid and capture of Israelites: in the third, the Kenites and "the children of Judah" destroy it. This shows the historical twilight in which these narratives move: and a further instance is the fact, also noted by Robinson (ib., 61, & n2) that Simeon, who with Levi are supposed to have been almost exterminated at Shechem, again appear in Jd 1 v 17. (Robinson speaks of this as Simeon's last appearance: he has surely overlooked 1 Chr 4 v 39-43?) The Kenites are equally elusive, as we shall note in a future chapter.

If Judah was really a league, of heterogeneous origin, then it can only have come to be regarded as a distinct tribe in a Leah-group which included Simeon, as the result of an unconscious duplication, dating, surely, from an age long after that of the southern settlements. An aetiological pun which purports to explain the name of Judah in Gn 29 v 35 is then particularly unrealistic. On this theory, the appearance in Gn 49 of Simeon and Judah as distinct tribes must be due to the misunderstanding of later ages; and this confirms one's general impression that Gn 49 is a sentimental and antiquarian compilation. The entire Judah-song in that chapter may well date from the time of David, or even later; and the age of David was sufficiently remote from that of the southern settlements for the details of the latter to have grown hazy in popular tradition.

Chapter 15. THE ELDERS OF JUDAH. (■ MAP IV.)

In 1 S 30 v 26-31 appears a list of "Elders of Judah" to whom David sent gifts before his coronation at Hebron. This list, obscure in many ways as it is, remains virtually our only evidence regarding that southern league on which David's ~~kingdom~~ southern kingdom was based, as that league existed immediately before he was crowned at Hebron. Since there are various discrepancies between the Hebrew text of this passage and the corresponding Vatican and Alexandrine LXX texts, a digest of all three is given here. Numbers refer to verses.

DIGEST OF DAVID'S GIFTS TO THE ELDERS OF JUDAH (1 S 30 v 26-31)		
Hebrew Text	LXX Alexandrine	LXX the Vatican
27 Bethel South Ramoth Jattir	27 Baithel Ramath Wiether	27 Baithsour * Rama Geththor
28 Aroer Siphmoth Eshtemoa	28 Aroer Saphamos Esthema	28 Aroer Ammadei * Saphei * Estheie
29 Rachal Jerahmeelite cities Kenite cities	29 Rachel Cities of Ieramelei Cities of Keinaios	29 Geth * Keimath * Saphek * Theimath.*..... Karmelos * Cities of Israel * Cities of Kenezai *
30 Hormah Chorashan Athach	30 Ramma Borasan * Athag	30 Iereimouth Bersabee * Noo *
31 Hebron Old Haunts of David	31 Chebron Old Haunts of David	31 Chebron Old Haunts of David

To facilitate comparison, the Greek spellings are reproduced exactly as they stand in the LXX. Many of the deviations in spelling are merely the result of independent efforts to reproduce the Hebrew sounds in Greek and English; and in these we may probably include Ramma, in v 30 of the Alexandrine text. The serious divergences are indicated by stars. Taking these verse by verse, in v 27 most scholars read Bethuel for the Hebrew "Bethel"; so that the Vatican "Bethzur", which is certainly more probable than Bethel on geographical grounds, is perhaps an ancient intelligent guess, showing that as early as the period of the translation of the LXX the Hebrew reading was known to be corrupt. Grollenberg says that Bethuel may possibly be the modern Khirbet-el-Qaryatein, 12½ miles S of Hebron. The site of Ramoth-Negeb = Ramath = Rama is unknown. As regards Jattir, E. Robinson in his "Biblical Researches" identified it with the village of Ietheira, 20 mls from Eleutheropolis; but Baedeker in his Guide to Palestine equated it with 'Attir, midway between Hebron and Milh. Buhl agreed, with a cautious "perhaps"; Dillmann was uncertain. Grollenberg accepts Baedeker's opinion, and locates 'Attir 13 mls SSW of Hebron. (See Lexicon, & Smith ICC Samuel p 250.)

Coming to v 28, the Lexicon cautiously remarks that Aroer may possibly be 'Ar'ara, about 9 mls S of E from Beersheba, "but see Buhl". Smith (op.cit.), who

agrees, incidentally, with the majority of scholars in reading Bethuel for Bethel, remarks that the name of Aroer "still attaches to a ruin ESE of Beersheba". Grollenberg agrees with Smith and the Lexicon, and locates Aroer in the modern Khirbet 'Ar'arah, S of Hormah. Siphmoth appears to be quite unknown. The Lexicon, Robinson ("Biblical Researches"), the Ordnance Survey, Baedeker, and Grollenberg, all agree that Eshtemoa is the modern Semu'a, 9 mls SSW of Hebron. Regarding the "Ammadei" of the Vatican text, the writer can discover nothing.

In the first half of v 29 both the Hebrew and the Alexandrine LXX open with the name Rachal, about which Smith writes, "For the unknown Racal of the Hebrew we should probably read Carmel on the basis of the LXX"; an opinion endorsed by the Lexicon, Wellhausen, S. R. Driver, Budde, Kittel, and now Grollenberg: truly an imposing array of expert opinions! Grollenberg and the Lexicon both identify it as the modern el-Kirmil, 7 mls SSE of Hebron. Only the Vatican text of the LXX gives Carmel; the Alexandrine has Rachel, like the Hebrew. In the Vatican text the name Carmel is preceded by Geth, Keimath, Saphek, and Theimath, all missing from the Alexandrine and the Hebrew. Smith suggests that these names may be corruptions of dittographies. Of Keimath, Saphek, and Theimath, the present writer can discover nothing; and if Geth is meant for Gath, it seems remotely improbable that this Philistine stronghold belonged to Judah before David's coronation at Hebron!

The second half of v 29 mentions, without specification, the cities of the Jerahmeelites and the Kerites; here the Vatican text writes Israel and the Kenizzites. The first is surely a scribal error, and possibly the second also.

In v 30 the name Hormah stands in no doubt, though its location is uncertain. Grollenberg says that it may possibly be the modern Tell-el-Mishash. ESE of Beersheba. Palmer ("The Desert of the Exodus") and many other critics identified Hormah (formerly Zephath) with Sebaita; Robinson, with the Pass of es-Sufah. Moore disagreed with both opinions.

Smith rejects both the Chorashan ("Smoking Furnace") of the Hebrew and the Borashan ("Smoking Pit") of the Alexandrine, and reads Beersheba, as in the Vatican text. But Baer and Delitzsch accepted Borashan, which stands in the Syriac as well as in the Alexandrine LXX. Grollenberg agrees, and locates Borashan at Khirbet Asan, $2\frac{1}{2}$ mls NW of Beersheba. If Grollenberg's location is right, the very short distance between Borashan and Beersheba suggests that here we have a parallel case to that of Salisbury and Old Sarum, remembered from our schooldays as that notorious "rotten borough" which continued to return a member to parliament long after it had ceased to be inhabited. The name "Salisbury" suggests a prehistoric earthwork, so that both places are probably ancient. The same consideration applies to Borashan, "the smoking pit", and Beersheba, "the well of the oath". It is mildly surprising to find a smoking pit in this locality; one would have looked for it rather in the sulphurous and bituminous regions around the Dead Sea or el-Ghor, or possibly (but less probably) in the Wady-el-Arabah. But possibly it was a limestone swallet-hole, which flung up spray during the rainy seasons. In any case, it sounds likely to have roused the religious awe of the local population, while of the reverence paid to Beersheba there can be no doubt. Possibly, therefore, Beersheba overshadowed the lesser fame of Borashan, as Hebron, by its commercial prosperity, overshadowed the ancient sanctuary of Mamre, a mile or two to the north. If so, the Vatican reading is explained, as is, also, that remarkable "absence of so prominent a place as Beersheba" on which Smith (ICC Sam 250) comments. As the name of Sarum is still used for ecclesiastical purposes,

where Salisbury is meant, so, possibly, the name of Borashan continued in use for cultic and administrative purposes, long after the local cultic centre had been transferred to Beersheba. It is even possible that Corashan, "smoking furnace", was a second name for the same place, sometimes used in the locality. The Yorkshire swallet-holes abound in fanciful names such as "kettle", ~~the~~ "jingling pot", and the like.

Coming to Athach, Smith suggests that it might be Arad. The Lexicon says, "perhaps 'Atr, about 2 mls NW of Beit Jibrin." Grollenberg says that the site is unknown. Hebron needs no comment. The "Noo" of the Vatican text seems to be ~~xxx~~ unknown, unless possibly it has some connection with the story of Noah's unlucky experiments in wine-manufacture, related in Gn 9 v 20f. This, of course, is a cultic story with affinities all round the Mediterranean; but this fact need not have prevented it from taking root in some locality in Palestine where there was a wine-cult associated with Noah, as the tree-sanctuary at Mamre was associated with Abraham. In this case it may well have been somewhere near the wine-producing town of Hebron.

These opinions of the scholars are summarised below:-

BETHEL. Probably Bethuel, which may be Khirbet-el-Qaryatein, $12\frac{1}{2}$ mls S of Hebron.
SOUTH RAMOTH. Unknown.

JATTIR probably = 'Attir, 13 mls SSW of Hebron.

AROER probably = Khirbet-'Ar'arah, S of Hormah.

ESHTEMOA = modern Semu'a, 9 mls SSW of Hebron.

SIPHMOH, AMMADEI, ~~MM~~ and SAPHEI, all unknown.

RACHAL, read Carmel, = el-Kirmil, 7 mls SSE of Hebron. ~~1 v 1~~

GETH. If "Gath", highly improbable!

KEIMATH, SAPHEK, and THEIMATH, apparently all unknown.

CHORASHAN perhaps = Borashan, $2\frac{1}{2}$ mls NW of Beersheba. See above remarks.

The conclusion of the matter is that we can be certain, or nearly certain, of Bethuel, Jattir, Aroer, Eshtemoa, Carmel, and Hebron; also, perhaps, of Borashan, which we may probably regard as a detached suburb of Beersheba. The existence of two ancient recensions of this list, as revealed by the two LXX texts, strongly supports the probability that it is based on old tradition.

Map IV is based on these conclusions, and on Grollenberg's locations, as shown in the index to his Atlas and on his splendid large-scale contoured map of Judah (Atlas, p 60). Purely as a means of identifying the area included in the sketch-map, Bethlehem is marked in the top right-hand corner. The distance from north to south across the map is less than the length of the Dead Sea, which lies off the map a few miles farther east. Contours have been approximately shown by hachures, showing the south-westward thrust of the Judah Hills, a limestone ridge overtopping 3000 feet around Hebron and Bethzue. It will be recalled that Hebron, in the heart of the range, originally belonged, not to Judah, but to Caleb; while Debir, on the SW corner of the ridge, was originally the possession of Othniel. These remarks refer, of course, to the Judahite settlements. These cities were already old Canaanite places when the Judahite tribes first came to the hills. If we accept Noth's theory (GI 56) that the "tribe" of Judah was named after the hills,

not the other way round, then the location upon the hills of the tribes of Caleb and Othniel strongly suggests that Judah was a league of tribes rather than a homogeneous tribe in itself.

It will be noted that the area occupied by the Elders of Judah extends no **farther** north than Debir and Hebron. Lachish and Bethzur, a mile or two north of these towns, have both been excavated. The excavations show that the typical Philistine pottery reached as far as Bethzur in this area, and that Philistine invasions destroyed Lachish and Bethzur about the same time as the destruction of Shiloh (c. 1050 B.C.), or shortly after. (Albright, Arch. Pal., 113, 114; and in OT & Mod. Study, 12.) Albright dates the destruction of the Canaanite cities on these sites in the late 13th century (Arch. Pal. 108); though of course these earlier destructions could have been the result of Canaanite inter-tribe feuds. If the Judahites settled in the Negeb during the 13th century, they may have led a peaceful pastoral life on the hills for many years before they came into collision with the Canaanite cities. Between the late 13th and the mid-11th century they may have extended their territory some distance north-westwards, only to lose much of their new ground to the Philistines, as Israel did in the north. It is, perhaps, worth noting that the new cisterns, which, as Albright observes (Arch. Pal. 113), made possible the intensive Israelite settlements in Palestine, may have been of considerably less benefit in Judah, with its comparatively scanty rainfall. In this case the population of Judah may have been smaller and thinner than that of a comparable area in Ephraim, so that the Judahites would be still more reluctant to attack Canaanite cities than were their cousins farther north. Achsah's request for springs (Jsh 15 v 19) emphasises the arid nature of the Judah Hills, and illustrates the extent to which the Judahites, even after the invention of the waterproof cistern, may have been dependent on perennial water-supplies in the shape of springs and wells. These considerations suggest that the extension of their lands by the conquest of towns may have been both slow and limited. Yet they are unlikely to have come unscathed through the years of the Philistine expansion.

It seems likely, therefore, that until David captured Jerusalem, the northern frontier of Judah lay well to the south of the southern frontier of Benjamin. Hence it seems unlikely that Judah formed a part of Saul's kingdom, as Noth (System 110) has suggested. As for Bethlehem, if any Israelite or Judahite tribe possessed it at this early stage, it is surely more likely to have been in the hands of Benjamin rather than of Judah. This would explain how David came to play an active part in Saul's army, and also, perhaps, why Abner was able to persuade the men of the north (in later years) to accept him as king of both kingdoms.

Incidentally, if the writer's suggestion that Israel is the softened Canaanite pronunciation of "Jezreel" can be accepted, then Merneptah's reference to the subjugation of "Israel" may simply mean that he had quelled a Canaanite revolt in Esdraelon, in which case the date of this inscription is no longer a criterion for the date of the Israelite and Judahite settlements. Another point to be noticed in passing is that the elders of Judah evidently exceeded six, and probably exceeded twelve, if we count the Kenite and Jerahmeelite cities as members of the league, as they probably were. This list in 1 S 30 hardly supports Noth's theory (System 40-42) that groupings of 6 or 12 tribes were an essential feature of such leagues.

Chapter 16. THE KENITES.

The **last** of the Elders of Judah, discussed in the previous chapter, mentions the cities of the Kenites. Though the Kenites do not appear in Gn 49 or the other tribal lists as a complete tribe of Israel, they were evidently an important element in Judah; and the traditions of the Exodus make them relations of Moses and guides of his people on their way to Palestine. They are mentioned, perhaps for the first time in Scripture, in the Song of Lamech, Gn 4 v 23,24. where we read, "If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold." This text is evidently connected with the aetiological story in the same chapter (v 13-15) of the brand of Cain, which states that Yahweh said, "Whoever slayeth Cain, vengeance shall be taken on him sevenfold." And we read that "Yahweh set a mark upon Cain, lest any finding him should kill him."

Skinner (ICC Genesis, 120,121) dismisses the brand of Cain as a tribal mark of the kind which all Bedouins bear in their flesh. If this is right, this reference to the brand of Cain does not help our present purpose. But the fact is that apart from this text, there seems to be in the OT no reference anywhere to such a mark as Skinner has in mind. But there are throughout the Bible, both OT and NT, numerous references to circumcision. And the wording of Gn 4 v 14,15, especially the clause "lest any finding him should kill him", surely suggests that the brand would not normally be visible, but would be discoverable by warriors after a battle, when looting the bodies of the dead and dying. The wording is therefore perfectly applicable to circumcision, and quite inapplicable to a visible mark, say, on the head. The Song of Lamech shows that the sevenfold ~~mark~~ vengeance of the Kenites was proverbial. The brand of Cain would therefore serve the double purpose of warning off looters on battlefields, and enabling the Kenites themselves to count their dead after a battle, and plan their vengeance accordingly.

If we can accept the supposition that the brand of Cain was circumcision, we have a clue to the date and circumstances of composition of the Song of Lamech. For circumcision was general among both Semites and Egyptians. In the pages of Judges and 1,2 Samuel we hear of only one people who were not circumcised: the Philistines. They are contemptuously referred to as "the uncircumcised", twice in the Samson-legends (Jd 14 v 3; 15 v 18), four times in 1 Samuel (ch 14 v 6; 17 v 26,36; 31 v 4), and once in the ancient Lament for Saul (2 S 1 v 20). Thus, we find two proverbial things: the sevenfold vengeance of Cain, made possibly by the brand of Cain, and the uncircumcision of the Philistines. The two are surely connected. And the OT locates the Kenites in or near the Negeb, adjoining, or even within, the zone of Philistine expansion. Albright (Arch.Pal.114), describes how the archaeologists have traced the 12th and 11th cent. Philistine pottery over most of the Shephelah and the Negeb. He says, "The ware in question decreases relatively as one moves away from Philistia; it still occurs in deposits of the same age at Beth-Zur, Tell en-Nasbeh, and Bethel, and is found very sparingly at Megiddo. It has not yet, however, been discovered at Beth-Shan or Tell Abu Hawam, although there was continuous occupation of these sites throughout this period." Whether this evidence denotes an actual military occupation or merely "peaceful penetration", the history of our own times sufficiently demonstrates how sinister and dangerous the latter can be; and it may fairly be assumed that the Philistine expansion of the 12th and 11th centuries provoked more than one armed conflict between Philistines and Kenites. It was then, surely, that the brand of Cain and their sevenfold vengeance became proverbial. And since the Song of Lamech quotes

Cain's vengeance as a familiar fact, it may well belong to this same period, or to an age not long after it. Lamech may have been a Kenite clan which quarreled with the main body, or it may have been one which covered itself with glory in some spectacular victory over the Philistines, perhaps on some occasion when a tiny band of the Lamech clan defeated a much larger number of Philistines. Perhaps the most likely explanation is that the song refers to some blood-feud. Apart from the genealogies in Gn 4,5 & 1 Chr 1, we hear nothing more of Lamech, which suggests that they were not a very large group.

In the somewhat doubtful story in 1 S 15 of Saul's punitive expedition against Amalek, Saul finds the Kenites living among the Amalekites, and says to them (v 6), "Go, depart, get you down from among the Amalekites, lest I destroy you with them: for ye shewed kindness to all the children of Israel, when they came up out of Egypt." This tradition is deep-rooted in the OT; we find it, not only in the Pentateuch, but in Jd 1 v 16, where the Kenites escort "the children of Judah" into the Negeb. This brings us again to the vexed question, Who, precisely, came out of Egypt? Some scholars regard the words in Jd 1 v 16 "the children of the Kenite, Moses' father-in-law" as a gloss (Meyer, Budde) or a late interpolation (Matthes, Kuenen, all cited by Moore, ICC Jd, 33); and Moore (op.cit.) remarks that the Hebrew, which omits the article before "Kenite", is ungrammatical. There may well have been some late harmonisation here, designed to make the conquests in Jd 1 v 3-20 appear as a part of that pan-Israel conquest of Palestine which is attributed to the leadership of Joshua in the book of that name. It is even possible that the immigration described in Jd 1 v 16 did not really start from "the city of palm trees" (assuming, as seems likely, that this was Jericho), and that this reference also is a late interpolation. Where the evidence is so uncertain, one cannot dogmatise; but it seems to the present writer more probable that the OT writers thought of this particular immigration as a ~~part~~ part of the one traditionally led by Joshua because it started from Jericho. We are by no means compelled to believe that all the members of the Judah ~~league~~ league had entered Judah together at the same time from the same point of origin. It seems likely that the Caleb group entered from the south, after an abortive first attempt, as described in Nm 14 v 40f, and that the scouting-party described in Nm 13 (of which the aetiological story of Eshcol in v 23 is possibly the original nucleus) has a factual basis. But this need not disprove the tradition in Jd 1 that some of the Judahites came from the north; and since Simeon figures in this immigration, and also in the Shechem massacre described in Gn 34, it seems likely that it was the Simeon group that came from the north, while the Caleb and Othniel groups came from the south.

The Kenites may possibly have come from both directions. According to the Lexicon the word means a metal-worker; and Albright (Arch. Pal. 207f) remarks that the Semitic tinker-group depicted in the famous stele of Beni-Hasan, c. 1892 B.C., "perfectly illustrates the very ancient story in Gn 4 v 19-22, where the family of Lamech is described as including specialists in pastoral life, in playing the lyre, and in copper and iron working". And in that same chapter Lamech appears as a son of Cain. The ancient copper-mines of Sinai were worked by the Egyptians (Grollenberg Atlas, map on p 44) in the 18th and 20th dynasties, but not in the 19th, the dynasty to which scholars increasingly ascribe the Exodus. This supports the tradition that the original Sinai of the Exodus was the mountain of that name, and also supports the tradition in Nm 10 v 29-32, that Moses persuaded a Kenite to guide his company to Palestine. And it is significant that the trail led past Punon (Nm 33 v 42), where there are ancient copper workings, and that in this vicinity Moses is said

(Nm 21 v 9) to have made a bronze snake, which was preserved in the temple at Jerusalem, and which Hezekiah destroyed (2 K 18 v 4). The wandering tinkers of the ancient world may well have added to their other occupations that of acting as professional guides through the wildernesses of the near East, since none would know the trails better than they. The Chronicler (1 Chr 4 v 21-23) describes certain Judahite ~~xxx~~ occupational guilds, and adds, "These are ancient things". Perhaps there was a guild of tinkers, or Kenites, who held special rites in the temple at Jerusalem, in which a bronze snake was used as a cult-object, the symbol of their calling. A snake on a pole, the Caduceus of the Greek god Mercury, is to this day the symbol of metallurgy. This evidence suggests that the Kenites were a cosmopolitan order of miners and metal-workers, and therefore that the various references to them in the OT need not inevitably refer always to the same group or the same locality. At the same time, tinkers are naturally elusive people, so that biblical references to Kenites in different localities may yet refer to the same national group. In view of the verbal and other parallels between Gn 3 and Gn 4, it is tempting to think that, over and above their obvious cultic background, these stories enshrine a memory of a band of tinkers, who encamped near to the city of Adam in the Jordan Valley, and were expelled by the town-folk after a murderous quarrel. And it is also tempting to connect this possibility with the story in Jd 1 v 16 that the Kenites escorted the Judahites southward from Jericho, a city only 19 miles from Jericho. But the evidence is too uncertain for these suggestions to rank higher than mere speculation.

Equally obscure is the reference in the late supplement (Nm 24 v 21,22) to the Oracles of Balaam, which describe "Cain", in a word-play, as putting its nest in a rock, and prophesy its downfall, "Until when? Asshur shall carry thee away captive." The text is obscure, probably corrupt, and hard to date; and the rock mentioned is difficult to locate. It sounds like some precipitous place near the Jordan or the Dead Sea, whereas the traditions in Jd 1 v 16 and 1 S 15 locate the Kenites farther west. The confused relationship between these various nomadic groups is shown by the fact that in 1 S 15 v 7 we read that "Saul smote the ~~AM~~ Amalekites from Havilah until thou comest to Shur", and in Gn 25 v 18 we read that the Ishmaelites "dwelt from Havilah unto Shur". In the Joseph-saga in Gn 37f, Joseph is kidnapped by Ishmaelites in the J-source and Midianites in the E-source. In Jd 7f Gideon defeats Midianites, who in Jd 8 v 24 (in this same saga) are recognised to be Ishmaelites. And Moses' father-in-law is a Midianite in Ex 2 v 16f and a Kenite in Jd 1 v 16. Plainly, the OT traditions of these nomads are hopelessly confused; and little reliance can be placed upon them.

So far as one can rely upon these very mixed traditions, it seems fairly clear that there was a close link between ~~the~~ Moses and the Kenites, and that the latter settled in the south, so far as they can be said to have settled anywhere. The list in 1 S 30 v 26f states that David sent gifts to his friends in the Kenite and Jerahmeelite cities; so that some part, at least, of these tribes seems to have settled; but perhaps only a part. But the presence of the bronze snake in the temple suggests that, whether as settlers or merely as traders with permanent business connections in Jerusalem, the Kenites did play a notable part in the development, cultic and commercial, of Judah. And the teachings of the Judahite prophets may have owed more than a little to the presence in Judah, as in Israel, of nomads who never really settled, and who thereby retained the democratic ideals and the simple ethics of the wandering tent. The city had much to teach the wilderness: but the wilderness also had something to teach the city: and that something was vital to its spiritual well-being.

The Midianites, with whom the Kenites appear to be confused in the Mosaic traditions, figure, along with the Moabites, in the conflated narrative in Nm 25. According to the JE source in this chapter, when the Israelites reached Shittim, at the NE corner of the Dead Sea, they intermarried with Moabites and accepted the Moabite cult of Baal-Peor, whose sanctuary adjoined Moses' grave and was included (in Jsh 13 v 20) in the territory of Reuben. This narrative may be compared with the statement in Jd 8 v 33 that after Gideon's death the Israelites worshipped Baal-Berith, whose sanctuary was in Shechem. In both cases, no doubt, Yahweh was syncretised with the local Baal; and there seems little reason to doubt that both stories are essentially true. The P-source in Nm 25 tells a similar yet distinct tale, that Israel intermarried with Midianites, thus angering Yahweh, who sent a plague. Phinehas the Aaronite averted the plague by slaying an Israelite and his Midianite wife. All this, despite the fact that Moses himself was said to have married a Midianitess! The P-account ends with a war-song against Midian, which itself conflates the two stories, since it states (Nm 25 v 18) that Midian beguiled Israel in the matter of Baal-Peor. It seems possible, however, that this mixed reference may be a late addition to the original song, thus:-

v 17,18a Vex the Midianites, and smite them!
For they vex you with their wiles-

(Later addition, 18b) - wherewith they have beguiled you in the matter of Peor, and in the matter of Cozbi, etc.

Gray (ICC Numbers 387) regards this song (apparently in its entirety) as "the note of a priestly editor familiar with the preceding composite story", and considers that the song was "intended to prepare the way for Nm 31". This last-named chapter describes a war with Midian under Moses' direction. This is likely enough. Transjordan has always been exposed to desert raiders, and the Midianites whom Gideon fought seem to have come from the east. The writer would suggest that for the men of Transjordan Midian was "the auld enemy", as the Philistines were for the tribes on the West-Jordan ridge, and that v 17,18a of Nm 25, quoted above, were an ancient slogan of the Transjordan Israelites. Is 9 v 4 and 10 v 26 refer to "the day of Midian", and "the slaughter of Midian at the rock of Oreb"; doubtless in reference to Gideon's victories. Ps 89 v 9-12 refers to the same events, and incidentally includes other points of interest in relation to the tribal and cultic history of Israel. After naming Israel's enemies, the Psalmist continues:-

Do unto them as unto the Midianites
As to Sisera, as to Jabin, at the brook of Kison

Which perished at Endor
They became like dung for the earth

Make their nobles like Oreb and like Zeeb
Yea, all their princes as Zebah and as Zalmunnah

Who said, Let us take to ourselves
The houses of God in possession

It is interesting to note here the close conjunction of Sisera and Jabin, as

in Jd 4; also the hint that although Shiloh was the cultic centre of the Israelite league, being later succeeded by Bethel in the north and Jerusalem in the south, there were also local sanctuaries used by Israelites, perhaps with syncretisms of Yanweh with local Baals, as at Shechem and Beth-Peor.

The mention of Beth-Peor brings us to one more point arising incidentally out of the evidence examined in this chapter. This (the fact that Nm 21 looks remarkably like the original ending of the story of the Exodus. It culminates in the victories over Sihon and Og, and in the statement in v 31: "Thus Israel dwelt in the land of the Amorites." And the old tradition that Moses was ~~buried~~ buried on the northern borders of Moab, in lands traditionally ascribed to Reuben (though perhaps the incoming Joseph-group ejected the Reubenites), strongly suggests that this region was the "Journey's end" of the oldest Mosaic traditions. With its deep glens, watered by perennial streams, its lush pastures in the mouths of those same glens, and the copper-mines of Punon in the same escarpment not very far to the south, it seems to fit the description of the Promised Land in Dt 8 v 7-9 far better than do the Ephraim Hills. And the fragments of old songs quoted in Nm 21, which are surely old Transjordan traditions (since they name localities near the NE part of the Dead Sea), seem to support this conclusion.

Albright (Arch.Pal.44), speaking of Nelson Glueck's Transjordan Survey, says, "Glueck has succeeded in establishing the remarkable fact that most of Transjordan (except the Jordan Valley and the extreme north) was occupied only in relatively short periods, separated by long periods of nomadism. The most important two phases of nomadic occupation, during which there was little or no settlement, lasted from the 20th century to the 13th, and roughly from the 6th to the 1st century B.C." Albright himself (ibid.83) is inclined to date the patriarchal movements of Genesis within the period from the 20th to the 17th centuries B.C., while Noth (GI 117,118) associates them rather with the Aramaean Wanderings of the late 14th and early 13th centuries. The latter view seems to the present writer the more probable. Albright himself (Stone Age to Christianity) recognises that the Kingdoms of Ammon, Moab, and Edom were founded by these Aramaean immigrants in the early 13th century. And the patriarchal traditions in Gn seem to be linked with these very events. Thus, in Gn 19 v 36-38, we read that Ammon and Moab were children of Lot; and in Gn 36 v 6-8 it is stated that Esau, Jacob's brother, went to Edom following a pasture-dispute with his brother. Lot is presented in Genesis as the nephew of Abraham. If all these groups were parts of the Aramaean main mass who entered Palestine in the 14th/13th centuries, they may well have been inter-related in some such way as Genesis portrays. But the writer is inclined to think that the Kenites were an occupational group, probably of mixed origin, just as the tinkers of modern Britain do not all belong to the same clan.

In Gn 15 v 19-21 there is a list of pre-Israelite inhabitants of Palestine. It includes the Kenites, Kenizzites, and Kadmonites. Jsh 15 v 17 and Jd 1 v 13 state that Kenaz was the brother of Caleb and father of Othniel. Here, surely, is definite evidence that these elements in the Judah league settled in the Negeb before the members of the Ephraim league - i.e. the Rachel group, the house of Joseph - arrived in Palestine. And Caleb, we remember, conquered Hebron, the old capital of Judah. This city was previously called Kirjath-arba; its new name, according to the Lexicon, means "league"! Plainly, it was the league-centre, and Caleb must have been the leading tribe of the Judah league. And this suggests that the traditions in Jd 1 v 3-20 were originally preserved at Hebron, and later, no doubt, at Jerusalem. Such, it would seem, were the foundations of the kingdom of Judah.

Chapter 17. TOPOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE REGARDING THE PATRIARCHS. (MAP V.)

I. PLACES MENTIONED IN THE PATRIARCHAL SAGAS IN GENESIS.

A B R A H A M			L O T		
Place	Association	Text (Genesis)	Place	Association	Text (Genesis)
Shechem	Altar	12 v 7	Bethel	Dispute	13 c 5-11
Bethel	Altar	12 v 8	Sodom	Sojourn	13,14,19
	Sojourn	13 v 3	Zoar	Sojourn	19 v 18f
Jerusalem	Altar	22 v 9,14	Cave nr. Zoar	Sojourn:birth of Ammon and Moab	19 v 30f
	Blessing	14 v 18-20			
Hebron	Tree	18 v 4			
(= Mamre)	Grave	23			
	Altar	13 v 18			
	Sojourn	13,14,18,23			
Beersheba	Tree,Well, Name	21 v 30-33			
	Sojourn	22 v 19			
Gerar	Sojourn	22 v 19			
	Wells	26 v 15,18			
I S H M A E L			I S A A C		
BeerLahai-Roi	Flight	16 v 7f	Hebron	Burial	35 v 27
Paran	Dwelling	21 v 21	Beersheba	Well	26 v 32,33
Havilah-Shur	ditto	25 v 18		Altar	26 v 25
				Sojourn	26 v 23
			Gerar & vicinity	Wells	26 v 18-22
			BeerLahai	Sojourn	26 v 1-14
			-Roi	Sojourn	24 v 62; 25 v 11
L A B A N			J A C O B		
PadanAram	Dwelling	28,29	PadanAram	Marriage	28,29
Mizpeh	Truce	31 v 43f	Mizpeh	Truce	31 v 43f
			Mahanaim	Theophany	32 v 1,2
			Penuel	Theophany	32 v 24f
			Succoth	Booths	33 v 17
			Shechem	Well	33 v 28; John 4 v 5f
				Burial-plot & Altar	33 v 18-20
				Tree	35 v 2-4
			Bethel	Stone	28 v 11f; 35 v 14f
			Hebron	Isaac's burial	35 v 27-29
			Atad	Grave	50 v 10,11

II. OVERLAPPING ASSOCIATIONS

Shechem: Abraham 12 v 7. Jacob 33 v 18-20; 34; 35 v 2-4
 Bethel: Abraham 12 v 8; 13 v 3. Jacob, 28 v 11f; 35 v 14,15
 Hebron: Abraham 13 v 18; 14 v 13; 18 v 1,4; 23. Isaac 35 v 27. Jacob 35 v 27-29
 Beersheba: Abraham 21 v 30-33; 22 v 19. Isaac 26 v 23f. (Israel 46 v 1f)
 Gerar: Abraham 22 v 19; 26 v 15,18. Isaac 26
 Beer-lahai-roi: Ishmael 16 v 7f. Isaac 24 v 62; 25 v 11.

III. ANCIENT LANDMARKS ASSOCIATED WITH THE PATRIARCHS.

(1) WELLS

Place	Patriarch	Text (Genesis)
Shechem	Jacob	Dt 33 v 28; Jn 4 v 5f
Beersheba	Abraham	21 v 25f
	Isaac	26 v 32,33
Gerar & vicinity	Abraham	26 v 15,18
	Isaac	26 v 18-22

(2) BURIAL GROUNDS

Shechem	Jacob	33 v 18-20
Hebron	Abraham	23

(3) TREES

Shechem	Jacob	35 v 2-4
Hebron	Abraham	18 v 4
Beersheba	Abraham	21 v 33

(4) STONES

Mizpeh	Jacob & Laban	31 v 43f
Bethel	Jacob	28 v 11f; 35 v 14f

IV. PATRIARCHAL LANDMARKS, CLASSIFIED UNDER PATRIARCHAL NAMES.

A B R A H A M		I S A A C		J A C O B	
Hebron	Burial Ground	Beersheba	Well	Mizpeh	Stone
	Tree	Gerar area	Wells	Shechem	Well
Beersheba	Well				Burial Ground
	Trees				Tree
				Bethel	Stone

V. PATRIARCHAL DISPUTES IN GENESIS

Text	Place	Disputants	Cause
31	Mizpeh	Laban & Jacob	(Theft) Pasture-rights?
34	Shechem	Simeon & Levi against the Shechemites	Violated treaty
13	Bethel?	Abraham & Lot	Pasture-rights
26	Gerar	Isaac & men of Gerar	Water-rights
27	?	Esau & Jacob	Stolen birthright
36 v 6-8	?	Esau & Jacob	Pasture-rights

Noth (GI 114-118) suggests that the patriarchal groups represented by the names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob entered Palestine as sections of the wandering ~~XX~~ Aramaeans who came south from upper Mesopotamia about the beginning of the 13th century B.C., and that the popular tales of the patriarchs, and especially the promises of land and posterity, were originally the traditions of these groups before they entered Palestine, these traditions being afterwards attached, along with the old patriarchal cults, to pre-existent Canaanite sanctuaries in Palestine. If this theory is true (and the present writer believes that it is), then the topographical associations of the ~~XX~~ patriarchs in Palestine, as recorded in Genesis, should reflect, in broad outline, the shape of these early pre-Joseph settlements. It would appear, however, that these topographical associations overlap one another to some extent. Before their value and meaning can be assessed, it is evidently necessary to try to distinguish the original associations from those in which one patriarchal name has displaced another.

In this process of elimination we are assisted by several converging arguments. Certain areas are associated with only one tribal group or pairs of groups. In the Penuel area we hear only of Laban and Jacob, who occupy adjacent lands. Lot is associated with the eastern shores of the Dead Sea, to this day called the Bahr Lut by the Arabs; and his descendants, in the traditions of Genesis, are the men of Ammon and Moab. Esau is the only patriarch associated with Edom, and Ishmael the only one (in this general corpus of tradition) linked with Paran. The disputed areas are those of the West-Jordan ridge and the Negeb; and the rival traditions are those of the three chief patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the three traditional ancestors of Israel and Judah. Within this group, Isaac is very much overshadowed by Abraham and Jacob. This can be proved by mere statistics. In the writer's concordance (Young's), the references to Jacob (including the familiar poetic parallel, Jacob and Israel) fill over three columns: those to Abraham, just under three ~~ix~~ columns: and those to Isaac, little more than one column. And in Matthew 3 v 9, John the Baptist says, "Think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father." Of the three patriarchs, it is Abraham's name that comes readily to his lips. Hence it is probable that in the traditions of Beersheba and the area NW of it, towards Gerar, Abraham has stolen Isaac's thunder, and the old wells, now associated with both names, were originally associated with Isaac. This argument will naturally not apply to the sepulchre at Hebron, since we are told that ~~xxx~~ Abraham bought it, and both he and Isaac were buried there. Here, probably, Isaac's is the intrusive name.

It seems likely, then, that the Isaac-group were associated with the Beersheba-Gerar - BeerLahaiRoi triangle. This is eminently an area where wells would be a necessity; and it has a vast underground water-table which present-day Israelis have tapped to irrigate their orange-farms. The tradition that the Isaac-group dug wells in this area therefore seems very credible; and the sacred grove at Beersheba was doubtless also originally associated with this group rather than with the Abraham-group. Of the three main patriarchs, Abraham is associated with the widest range of places in Palestine, and he alone is said to have come from Ur. Also, he is presented as the ancestor and/or senior relative, not only of Isaac and Jacob, but also of Ammon, Moab, Edom, Midian, ~~ix~~ Ishmael, and Amalek: all the Aramaean groups who sojourned or settled in and around Palestine. He thus seems to have been regarded as the general ancestor of a large part, or even all, of the Aramaean wanderers. Yet he seems to be especially associated with Hebron. This, however, may perhaps be explained by the fact that Hebron was the centre of the Judah league. As we have seen, this league was apparently a somewhat mixed body, including tribal groups, doubtless all or mostly Aramaean, but perhaps not very closely related to one another. Only, perhaps, in Abraham could they find a common ancestor. This view of Abraham is supported by the fact that whereas his traditions in Palestine overlap the areas covered by those of Isaac and Jacob, the latter two names are really only linked by the doctrine that Isaac was Jacob's father. The ancient landmarks associated with them cover two totally distinct areas, those of Jacob being found in the vicinities of Penuel, Shechem, and Bethel, while those of Isaac are confined to the Beersheba-Gerar sector.

It has often been remarked that the story of Jacob's marriage seems like a double of that of Isaac's. How far either has a factual basis is hard to guess; but even in the extant stories it is noteworthy that the actual occasion of the wedding finds Isaac at Beer-lahai-Roi (Gn 24 v 62) and Jacob at Haran (Gn 29 v 4). There he stays for years, until his flight to Gilead. And the course of the Jacob traditions through Palestine, as we traced them in an earlier chapter, suggest that the Jacob group came from the NE.

One's impression that in the patriarchal traditions of the Beersheba-Gerar area the name of Abraham has been superimposed on that of Isaac is considerably strengthened by an examination of the thrice-told tale of the sheikh who pretended that his wife was his sister. This is a typical nomad's tale, which could have been told of any famous patriarch. It is twice told of Abraham (Gn 12 v 10-20; Gn 20), and once of Isaac. The Gn 12 version belongs to the Abram cycle of tales, which is mainly centred upon Shechem and Bethel, and the Gn 20 version to the Abraham cycle, centred upon Hebron. The presence of Jacob's Well and Jacob's burial-ground at Shechem (though Jacob himself was traditionally buried at Atad), in conjunction with the presence of Abraham's burial-ground at Hebron, suggests that the Abraham-cycle, in its earliest forms, is likely to have been earlier and more original than the Abram-cycle, and prepares us to expect duplications between the two, similar to the one just mentioned. This is in fact what we do find, as the following table shows:- (Numbers refer to chapters and verses in Genesis.)

Story	Abram-Cycle	Abraham-Cycle
His wife is his "sister"	12 v 10-20	20
Isaac promised to Sarah	17*	18 v 1-16
Hagar expelled	16	21 v 1-21

Gn 17 has been fashioned into a connecting-link between the cycles by means of v 5, in which the patriarch's name is changed from Abram to Abraham. There seems little doubt that this narrative belonged originally to the Abram-cycle. It is significant, firstly, that the stories common to both cycles deal purely with family relationships, and secondly, that the only theophany in either cycle which is definitely anthropomorphic in form (unless we are to regard the three men as angels) and linked with a definite place, occurs in the Abraham-cycle, in Gn 18. In this theophany the divine apparition speaks in an amazing medley of grammatical singulars and plurals, and appears to Abraham at the sacred tree near Hebron, in that same place where, later in the Abraham-cycle, he buys a burial-ground. This is surely strong proof that the Abraham-cycle, in its earliest form, belonged to the ancestral traditions of the Judah-league, was preserved at the ancient tree-sanctuary at Mamre, near Hebron, where the cult of Abraham's god must have been syncretised with that of ~~the~~ some Canaanite deity or deities, and that this cycle dealt primarily with divine promises of posterity - that is, with the growth of the Judah-league. It is significant that the Abraham-version of the wife-sister story retains the names of Abimelech and Gerar, whereas in the Abram-version of this story, Pharaoh replaces Abimelech and Gerar becomes Egypt. It is true that the Abraham-version is much more worked-up than the Abram-version; but this is only to be expected, since priestly circles at Jerusalem during the Monarchy doubtless transmitted the story, with their own additions. But this wife-sister story is really not germane to the story of the births of Ishmael and Isaac, which it interrupts. Therefore, if it should appear that on internal evidence the Isaac-version of the wife-sister story is the oldest and most original of all, we would have two independent reasons for concluding that this story was missing from the original Abraham-saga of Hebron, and that the latter probably included only the theophany at Mamre, the births of Ishmael and Isaac, the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael, the death of Sarah, the purchase of Machpelah at Mamre, and the burial there of Sarah and Abraham, and possibly also of Isaac (as a later addition).

Such is the analysis which a superficial examination of these stories seems

to suggest. But the old documentary theory assigns Gn 17 (the "pivot"-chapter) to P, its parallel to J, the Abraham-version of Hagar and the wife-sister to E, and their Abram-equivalents to J. Gunkel ~~distinguished~~ ^{has} divided J into a Hebron-cycle and a Beersheba-cycle, which he designated respectively Jh and Jb; and he considered that the E-portions of these sagas ~~was~~ ^{were} also associated with Beersheba. Today the older Pentateuchal theories have been thrown into the melting-pot; and there are now so many theories of the Pentateuch that the simplest plan, perhaps, is to examine the passages in question on their own merits. (On Gunkel, cited above, see Skinner, ICC Genesis, 240, 241.) In any case, it is safe to say that the Abram- and Abraham-cycles derive from two different sources of tradition; and the parts in which they run parallel must surely have seemed especially important to the men who transmitted them. The context of the Isaac-version of the wife-sister story is evidently a self-contained corpus of tradition, preserved, probably, at Beersheba.

Of the three versions of the wife-sister story, the Isaac-version is the simplest, and contains no element of the ~~miraculous~~ miraculous. The Abram-version (Gn 12) introduces divinely-sent plagues (v 17). And, as noted above, Egypt replaces Gerar and Pharaoh Abimelech. This may possibly be a memory of the time when Egypt still retained a vestige of her Asiatic empire, so that her frontier actually was in SW Palestine in the region of Gerar. But it seems simpler to suppose that this version is an old popular tale of the bazaars, with its corners worn smooth. The more illustrious names of Egypt and Pharaoh have replaced the lesser-known ones, as is the way with oft-told tales. The Abraham-version belongs to a different world. It contains a fully-fledged theophany, in which God argues the case with Abimelech. And when the king protests his innocency and charges Abraham with an unworthy piece of deception, the narrator whitewashes Abraham's character with a transparent sophistry (v 12), and even contrives to suggest that it was Sarah (who in fact seems to have had little choice in the matter) who was reproved (v 16). And such sentences as "Lord, wilt thou also slay a righteous nation?" (v 4), "In the integrity of my heart and innocency of my hands have I done this" (v 5), "He is a prophet, and he shall pray for thee" (v 7), "Thou hast brought on me and on my kingdom a great sin" (v 9), and "Surely the fear of God is not in this place" (v 11), clearly show the theological and historical background of the narrator. These pious phrases, so reminiscent of some of the later psalms, may well have been penned within the walls of Jerusalem, during the late Monarchy. The motives behind this version are evidently not those of the popular story-teller, but of a stern moralist, who used the old tale for his own purposes of ethical and religious instruction. This author, alone of the three, does not notice the beauty of the wife. Indeed, he is so little concerned with the romantic, popular aspect of the tale, that he assigns it to the period of Sarah's extreme old age. And he alone contrives to cast the blame upon Sarah, in defiance of the plain facts of the tale itself. One could not have a clearer demonstration of the gap which, in these OT writings, separated history and popular story-telling from instructional "midrash".

For our present purpose, perhaps the most significant point about these three versions is that it is Abraham, more than Isaac, who is made, by the compilers of Genesis, the vehicle of moral and religious instruction. This becomes very clear if we read through all the Abram- and Abraham-stories, and, immediately afterwards, read the much shorter Isaac-sagas. ~~That~~ This fact must surely have had some historical cause; and what that cause was, becomes clear when we consider

the focal-points of the Abraham- and Isaac-sagas. The latter move within the Beersheba-Gerar-BeerlahaiRoi triangle: an area without special significance for ~~the~~ the history of the Monarchy. But the Abraham-traditions centre upon Hebron; and Hebron was the ancient capital of the Judah-league, and the place where David was crowned. Viewed in this light, the poetic blessing in Gn 14 v 18-20, pronounced upon Abraham by Melchizedek, king of Salem, is very significant. It would seem that in Judahite tradition the figure of Abraham was intimately associated with the glories of the House of David. Melchizedek's blessing links Abraham with Jerusalem, and must surely be connected with David's transfer of the capital of Judah from Hebron to Jerusalem, and his installation there of the ark which he had taken from the northern kingdom. May we not see, also, in the extension of the Abraham-traditions over the area of the Isaac-traditions, a reflection of the absorption of Beersheba and its vicinity into the Judah league? Beersheba is not mentioned in the traditions in Jd 1 of the southern conquests, nor in the King-List in Jsh 12; but either Beersheba or its near vicinity appears in the list in 1 S 30 of places to which David sent gifts before his coronation, as well as in the late allotment-lists in Jsh and in the proverbial phrase, "From Dan to Beersheba", which must surely have commemorated, in the first instance, the full extent of David's coalition-kingdom. It seems likely, therefore, that Beersheba was already in the ~~Isaac~~ Judah-league before David's coronation at Hebron. And if David's union of the two kingdoms was primarily responsible for the northward extension of the Abraham-traditions over the area covered by the Jacob-traditions, then the southward extension of those Abraham-traditions came before their northward extension, a conclusion which perfectly fits the OT tradition that Isaac was Abraham's son and Jacob his ~~son~~ grandson.

The predominant political and theological significance which OT tradition attached to the figure of Abraham is shown by the way in which the divine promises of land and posterity cluster around his name, as shown in the following table:- (J, E, & P indicate the sources, according to the orthodox documentary theory.)

DIVINE PROMISES TO THE PATRIARCHS					
Posterity	Land	Both	Posterity	Land	Both
ABRAM:			ISAAC		
12 v 2,3 J	12 v 7 J	13 v 14-17 J	26 v 24 R?		26 v 3,4 R?
15 v 5 E	15 v 7 E		JACOB		
17 v 2-6 P	15 v 13-16 E		32 v 12 J		28 v 13-15 J
	15 v 18 E				35 v 11,12 P
	17 v 8 P				
ABRAHAM					
18 J					
22 v 16-18 E					
SARAH					
17 v 16 P					
ISHMAEL					
17 v 20 P					
21 v 18 E					

If the promises to Isaac are, as the older critics suspected, late redactions, Isaac is left without any promises, save that made to his mother in Gn 17 v 16; and even this is ascribed to the late source, P. Jacob receives but two promises, apart from the P.

from the one in P: and of these two, one is a mere reference to the other. Abraham, on the contrary, receives many promises; and they are located at Haran, Shechem, Bethel, Jerusalem, and Hebron. Again one seems to see a reflection of David's ~~xxx~~ extension of his rule over the north. The formulae used may possibly have been based on actual formulae used for the conveyance of land by priests and/or kings; while Gn 13 v 17 seems to prescribe a beating of the bounds, such as David might have performed at Jerusalem after he had captured it. The promises of posterity may reflect the hopes of Judah that David's line of succession would remain unbroken. This aspiration is expressed in the Blessing of Jacob, Gn 49 v 10. a verse that may possibly date from the middle or late Monarchy.

The tribal disputes listed on p 102 above may well be based on real incidents of the Aramaean Wanderings, especially the Laban-Jacob dispute, which was popularly associated with a cairn in Transjordan. But it is also possible that some of these alleged disputes represent the reflection of later ages on the political geography of Palestine as they knew it. We notice that Abraham and Jacob settle west of Jordan, while Ammon, Moab, and Edom (represented by the patriarchal figures of Lot and Esau) have to be content with Transjordan. Yet Moab had a much better watered territory than either Ephraim or Judah; and even the patriarchal traditions themselves state that Esau, living in Edom, became very prosperous. The general route followed by the Aramaean Wanderings would lead one to suppose that in fact Transjordan was settled first, before the west. True, it was more exposed to desert raiders; but on the other hand it was almost entirely unoccupied when the Aramaeans arrived, and there was none to dispute their right to it. The west, on the contrary, lay close to the populous cities of the Canaanites. One of the two versions of the Esau-Jacob dispute states that it was Jacob who fled from Esau. If the Jacob-group crossed to the west because Ammon, Moab, and Edom settled slightly earlier, and the Laban-group thrust them forward from the rear, this interpretation would harmonise with the traditional seniority of Edom over the Jacob-group. Naturally, when dealing with such shadowy traditions, one cannot dogmatise; but it does seem likely that Transjordan would fill up first, until late-comers were forced to carve out lands for themselves in the west. The fact that the Joseph-group probably pushed into the Ephraim Hills after the Jacob group had left them, and that Reuben may have been squeezed out of el-Ghor into a small area near Jericho, suggests that Joseph were a much larger group than Jacob. And this fits Albright's evidence that the intensive settlements of the later 13th century were made possible by the use of waterproof cisterns (Arch. Pal. 113), in conjunction with the emphasis placed on wells by the patriarchal narratives.

Wells are perhaps our best clues in tracing the patriarchal movements; and the fact that the ~~town~~ town-well of Shechem was anciently called Jacob's Well (it must surely have been town-property, when it lay so near to Shechem) enables us to locate the Jacob-group here with virtual certainty. This location is confirmed by the tradition of Jacob's burial-ground, also at Shechem. Abraham's burial-ground at Hebron goes us another definite point; and Isaac's well-digging operations in the Beersheba-Gerar area enable us to locate the Isaac-group here with considerable confidence. And the patriarchal traditions in general seem to fit well into the historical background of the Aramaean Wanderings of the early 13th century. They may well be dim memories of those early peaceful migrations of semi-nomads to and from Palestine which, in Noth's view of the settlements (already cited), and also in the present writer's, probably formed the prelude to the much later attacks on Canaanite cities. (See, for this view, Noth, GI^x; & Alt, Kl. Schr. I. 137, 142.)

Chapter 18. JACOB AND ISRAEL.

In addition to its references to patriarchal traditions, the Blessing of Jacob is of peculiar interest because it contains (v 2) what, along with similar usages in the Oracles of Balaam, is probably the earliest example of the familiar parallel, Jacob and Israel. (It also occurs in Dt 33 v 10; but this may perhaps be a late part of the Blessing of Moses.)

Gray (ICC Numbers) suggested for the Oracles of Balaam the period of the united Monarchy, a conclusion which seems very probable. Many of the older scholars regarded them as exilic or post-exilic Messianic writings, and claimed to recognise in them late verbal usages; but this claim is rejected by Gray. Of recent years the discovery of the Ugaritic literature has led to a considerably earlier dating of many OT documents; and this has encouraged a very natural swing of the pendulum from the intense scepticism of some older scholars to the opposite extreme. Since Albright is a pioneer of the study of Ugaritic literature and of the consequent earlier dating of certain OT documents, his sober and considered judgement regarding the date of the Oracles of Balaam deserves the most careful consideration. On p 220 of his "Archaeology of Palestine", Albright writes:-

"The forms of letters and the spelling of the Gezer Calendar from the late 10th century give us information with regard to the external characteristics of such early biblical prose compositions as the account of the events preceding the death of David and the coronation of Solomon in 2 Samuel. The spelling of the Gezer Calendar and contemporary Phoenician inscriptions helps us to fix a date in that same century for such early poems as 2 S 22 (= Ps 18) and enables us to prove that earlier poems like the Oracles of Balaam could not have been written down appreciably later."

We note that Albright regards the Oracles of Balaam as earlier than Ps 18. But his own statements, quoted here, would agree very well with a date in the united Monarchy for the composition of the Oracles. In any case, we can hardly carry ~~it~~ their composition back into the period of the Judges or the settlements, since the Oracles twice mention a victorious king (Nm 23 v 21; 24 v 17-19). We learn that this king conquered both Moab and Edom. As Gray says (ICC Nm 314), only David conquered both these countries. Gray also draws attention to the resemblance between the Oracles and the Blessing of Jacob; and he might have added that they also recall the Blessing of Moses. These resemblances are set forth below:-

Nm 24 v 8. "BALAAM"	Dt 33 v 17. "MOSES"
He hath as it were the strength of an (unicorn	His glory is like the firstling of his (bullock
He shall eat up the nations his enemies	And his horns are like the horns of (unicorns
And shall break their bones	With them he shall push the people together
And pierce them through with his arrows	To the ends of the earth
Nm 24 v 9. "BALAAM"	Gn 49 v 9. "JACOB"
He couched, he lay down as a lion	He stooped, he couched down as a lion
And as a great lion, who shall stir him (up?	And as an old lion: who shall rouse him (up?

In the Blessings of Jacob and Moses these animal similes are respectively associated with Joseph and Judah. This union of northern and southern poetical traditions also suggests the time of the united Monarchy, though the reference to the pushing of enemies with horns recalls Zedekiah's horn-dance before Ahab in 1 K 22 v 11. This discussion excludes the three short oracles in Nm 24 v 20-24, which appear to be late additions. Some scholars feel that the fourth section of the Oracles, Nm 24 v 15-19, is not necessarily of the same age as the first three, but may be later. But the structure of the four main sections, taken together, has the appearance of a planned unity. This unity is illustrated in the following quotations:-

THE ORACLES OF BALAAM: (a) BEGINNINGS OF THE FOUR MAIN SECTIONS.

SECTION A. Nm 23 v 7f.

Balak the king of Moab hath brought me
(from Aram
Out of the mountains of the East.

"Come, curse me Jacob!
And come, defy Israel!"

How shall I curse, whom God hath not
(curse?)
How shall I defy, whom Yahweh hath not
(defied?)

SECTION C. Nm 24 v 3f.

Balaam the son of Beor hath said
The man whose eyes are open hath said
He hath said, which heard the words of
(God
Which saw the vision of Shaddai
Falling into trance, but with eyes open

SECTION B. Nm 23 v 18f.

Rise up, Balak, and hear!
Hearken unto me, thou son of Zippor!

~~God is not a man, that he should lie~~
God is not a man, that he should lie
Neither the son of man, that he should
(repent
Hath he said, and shall he not do?
Hath he spoken, and shall he not make it
(good?
Behold, I have received commandment to bless
And he hath blessed; and I cannot reverse it

SECTION D. Nm 24 v 15f.

Balaam the son of Beor hath said
The man whose eyes are open hath said
He hath said, which heard the words of God
And knew the knowledge of Elyon
Which saw the vision of Shaddai
Falling into trance, but with eyes open

(b) ENDINGS OF SECTIONS B AND C.

SECTION B. Nm 23 v 24.

Behold, the people shall rise up as a
(great lion
And lift up himself as a young lion
He shall not lie down until he eat of
(the prey
And drink the blood of the slain

SECTION C. Nm 24 v 9.

He couched, he lay down as a lion
And as a great lion; who shall stir him up?
Blessed is he that blesseth thee
And cursed is he that **curseth** thee

The design of these beginnings and endings can be represented in mathematical symbols thus:-

BEGINNINGS: A = B; C = D
ENDINGS: B = C

Here the sign of equation is naturally meant to imply resemblance, not identity. The writer finds it hard to believe that an intricate, balanced design like this could have resulted from the piecemeal addition of later sections to earlier ones, especially as the fourth section forms a natural climax to the

other three. The four sections must surely have been planned as a whole at one and the same time. And if the fourth section refers to David and was composed during his later years, perhaps on the occasion of the triumphant installation of the ark at Jerusalem, or in commemoration of that event, then we may surely believe that the first three sections were composed at the same time.

Although the songs of Reuben, Simeon and Levi, and Issachar, in Gn 49, seem to refer to events earlier than the Monarchy, the song of Benjamin reads very much like a reference to Saul's more victorious encounters with the Philistines. (It seems likely that in this song the wolf is meant to be a symbol of valour rather than of cruelty.) Since the purpose of the compilation was evidently the inclusion of all the tribes, we can hardly suppose that the compiler included the vanished tribe of Levi and the vanishing tribes of Reuben and Simeon and yet omitted such a ~~vigorous~~ vigorous and important tribe as Benjamin. But if Benjamin belongs to the original compilation, and refers to Saul's victories, the compilation cannot be pre-monarchic. The reference to Zebulun also points to a date early in the Monarchy. (The Joseph-song, apart from its opening verse, may have been added later to celebrate the victories of Jeroboam II.) The whole conception of Gn 49 suggests that it was meant to be a glorification of the united Monarchy. (In this respect it is in significant contrast to Dt 33, in which the brief references to Reuben, and Judah could easily be late insertions, while the Levi-song seems to be a post-exilic composition in praise of the Levitical priesthood.) For these reasons, it seems likely that Gn 49 in its earliest form dates from the united Monarchy, and was compiled to celebrate the triumphs of David. And the resemblance, noted above, between v 9 of its Judah-song and a verse in the Oracles of Balaam (Nm 24 v 9), tends to confirm this conclusion.

If, then, these two poems, Gn 49 and Nm 23,24, were composed in or shortly after David's reign to celebrate his victories, their references to Jacob and Israel, apparently the ~~earliest~~ earliest we possess, take on a special significance. Do they perhaps signify David's two kingdoms? Is Jacob intended as a synonym for Judah? The final verse of the fourth section of the Oracles seems to support this possibility. It reads, "Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion, and shall destroy him that remaineth of the city." May not "he that shall have dominion" be David, and the "city" be Jerusalem, which David conquered and made his new capital?

Ps 114 certainly seems to contradict this theory, with its opening verses, "When Israel went out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a people of strange language; Judah was his sanctuary, and Israel his dominion." This objection need not disturb the theory if Briggs (ICC Psalms, II 390) is right in ascribing this psalm to the Greek period; though it must be admitted that modern scholars tend to date many psalms much earlier than was previously the fashion. The orthodox theory of the Pentateuch also has to be taken into account. This regards the use of the name Israel as characteristic of the ~~J-source~~ J-source, while E normally speaks of Jacob. And it is customary to ascribe one of these sources to the north and the other to the south; though this theory seems to conflict with the fact that both sources appear in the Abram-cycle and both again in the Abraham-cycle. These cycles seem likely to come from two different regions of Palestine; though of course this may be a false inference.

A more formidable difficulty, perhaps, is the fact that in the Epilogue to Dt 33 (v 28) there is a parallel use of Israel and Jacob in which it seems likely

that both terms refer exclusively to the northern kingdom. This text reads, "Israel then shall dwell in safety alone: the fountain of Jacob shall be upon a land of corn and wine." The reference to the fountain of Jacob, in a modern English writer, would certainly be metaphorical: in Dt 33 it is fairly likely to mean, literally, Jacob's Well. This was situated in the northern kingdom; and that word "alone", while it may mean "safely isolated from invaders", seems more likely to mean that Yahweh will keep the northern kingdom safe without the assistance of Judah!

So far, the evidence is contradictory. In Gn 49 and Nm 23,24, Jacob may perhaps mean Judah. In Dt 33 (ignoring the Levi-song, which may be late), the name Jacob seems to be used with a northern connotation. In Ps 114 it might well mean both kingdoms combined, the same joint meaning being implied here in the name Israel. Apparently the psalmist's theory is that all the tribes left Egypt together, and entered Palestine together. This supports Briggs' suggestion that the psalm is very late, in which case its evidence is irrelevant to the question of the meaning of the name Jacob in the early poetry. As for Dt 33, it could be argued that a reference to the Well of Jacob is quite a different thing from a poetic use of the name Jacob by itself. There is a place near Edinburgh called Little France. Local bus conductors, ~~xxx~~ obviously, may call this name without implying that the bus has crossed the Channel! The name of the Well of Jacob, in the days of the divided Monarchy, may have been analogous to that of Dumbarton, "the fort of the Britons" - i.e., the Welsh. That is precisely the point to be settled. Who were, so to speak, the "true Britons" of Palestine? Who were the real descendants of the Jacob-group, the men of the north, or those of the south? Also, (an entirely different question) who claimed to be the real descendants of Jacob?

There is in Gn 49 itself an important reference which links the name of Jacob with the north rather than with the south. In v 24 we read that Joseph, hard pressed in battle, was strengthened "by the hands of the Abhir of Jacob"; and a gloss adds the comment, "From thence is the shepherd, the stone of Israel." The Abhir (Lexicon, "the Strong"), as an ancient name of God, occurs also in Ps 132 v. 2,5; and Is 49 v 26; 60 v 16; coupled with the name of Jacob, as in Gn 49. In Is 1 v 24 it is similarly coupled with "Israel"; a further point in favour of the theory that ~~the~~ "Jacob", in Hebrew poetry, has a northern connotation. The Lexicon observes that J. Barth, in his "Nominalbildung", suggests, in Is 1 v 24, the reading ~~ישראל~~ instead of the MT ~~ישראל~~; and this correction might also be needed in some of the other cases. Although ~~ישראל~~ also means mightily, the OT normally applies it to men and animals, including bulls, reserving ~~ישראל~~, a much less common form, for God. This looks like an attempt on the part of the Masoretes to avoid any possible association between Yahweh and the bull-symbols used by Jeroboam I, which evidently represented a syncretism of Yahweh with Baal. The writer has already suggested that Jeroboam may have been following a precedent established by Abimelech, whose coronation seems to have been closely associated with the temple of Baal-Berith, "the Lord of the Covenant", at Shechem. It seems likely that this syncretism is even older than Abimelech, and was the work of the Jacob-group, who used the town-well at Shechem, by permission, no doubt, of the local king, and so caused it to be known, ever after, as Jacob's Well. ~~Abimelech (22-20 B.C.)~~ Alt (Kl. Schr. I 29r), in his invaluable essay, "Der Gott der Väter", has thrown a flood of light upon the relationship between the old patriarchal cults, the Canaanite cults, and the cult of Yahweh. By his study of the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions of the last centuries B.C. and the first centuries A.D., he has demonstrated the way in which semi-nomadic groups, when they settled on the culture-fringe, implanted their ancestral cults

in local sanctuaries, syncretising them with the local cult, until at length both together were syncretised with some great-god (such as Jupiter, or, in OT times, Baal) whose personality finally obliterated those of both the ancestral god and the local god.

The present writer believes that Alt's theory is true, and is the key to the meaning of the parallel, Jacob and Israel. He would, however, add the comment that when the Aramaean wanderers reached Palestine the Canaanite cities were already ancient, and apparently had already, in some cases, syncretised local and great gods from time immemorial, so that the names of the ~~great~~ local gods, in whose honour the local sanctuaries had ~~been built~~ originally been built, had long since been forgotten. This may explain the traditions in Genesis of the nameless angels whom Jacob met at Mahanaim, the nameless angels whom he saw in his dream at Bethel, the night-demon on Penueel who refused to give his name, the three figures who appeared to Abraham at the tree-sanctuary of Mamre, and the anonymous "captain of the host of Yahweh" (Jsh 5 v 14) who appeared to Joshua at Gilgal. Doubtless later Jewish thought would interpret all these as angels of Yahweh; but historically speaking they may well represent old local gods whose personalities had long been overlaid by that of the Baal or El whom the Canaanites worshipped at these sanctuaries.

The writer would suggest, then, that the divine title, the Abhir of Jacob, hails from Shechem, and represents the ancient syncretism of the ancestral god of the Jacob-group with the local Baal-Berith. The successive coronations at Shechem of Abimelech and Jeroboam I would then bring about a further syncretism of these syncretised deities with Yahweh; hence Jeroboam's dedication of the calves, symbols of the God who had brought Israel out of Egypt. So "Jacob" became "Israel", the two terms being henceforth synonymous. This theory would explain why we hear nothing of Jacob in the Song of Deborah and the Lament for Saul. In the days of Jabin, Abimelech's coronation still lay in the future, and Shiloh, doubtless, was the ~~main~~ league-centre of Israel, and therefore the centre of the Yahweh-cult, as we find it in 1 Samuel. As for Abimelech, he seems to have been execrated as a tyrant; and perhaps it was only the revulsion of feeling in the north which followed the split under Rehoboam and the coronation of Jeroboam at Shechem which induced the northerners to think more kindly of Abimelech, and to reflect that, with all his faults, ~~he~~ he had been the first king of Israel.

If these conclusions are justified, Ps 132 affords a clue to the reason why the poets of David's court may well have used the name Jacob to signify Judah. This psalm describes David's installation of the ark at Jerusalem. It states that David vowed to "the Abhir of Jacob" that he would not rest until he had found "an habitation for the Abhir of Jacob". Would not the men of David's court feel that the land of "Jacob" was henceforth Judah, the kingdom which possessed the ark of Yahweh, whose personality was syncretised with that of the old patriarchal god, the Abhir of Jacob?

Naturally, this theory is only tentative. But it explains the contradictory nature of the evidence. It suggests that, in effect, the men of Israel and the men of Judah each claimed to be the true sons of Jacob: Israel, because the ark had originally belonged to the north: Judah, because it now resided at Jerusalem. If the writer may venture to refer to an excessively vexed question, the situation in the divided Kingdom may perhaps be compared to the way in which both Romans and Protestants claim to be the real Catholics. The writer suggests that

the rival claims of the kings of Judah and Israel to be the divinely-appointed leaders of God's chosen people underlie the puzzling usages of the parallel, Jacob and Israel, in Hebrew poetry.

After the Exile, naturally, those who returned to Jerusalem and built the second temple would feel that they were the heirs to both kingdoms. Henceforth both "Jacob" and "Israel" would be terms denoting, each of them, all Jewry.

In connection with this problem, certain references in the Psalms and in Obadiah demand consideration. These references include no fewer than four parallels, namely, Judah and Israel, Jacob and Israel, Jacob and Joseph, and Judah and Joseph. The first reference is in Ps 76 v 1,2, which read, "In Judah is God known: His name is great in Israel. In Salem also is his tabernacle..." This is straightforward, Judah and Israel being the two kingdoms. Ps 77 v 15 states, "Thou hast with thine arm redeemed thy people, the sons of Jacob and Joseph." This evidence seems inconclusive. If written by a northerner, Jacob and Joseph could be synonyms: if it is the work of a ~~southerner~~ southerner, they could mean Judah and Israel, though, on Noth's theory that only Joseph came out of Egypt, this implies a late date for the psalm, as does v 5, "I have considered the days of old, the years of ancient times." This quotation, though it may not support any particular theory about the poetic usage of "Jacob", is perhaps valuable evidence that Joseph alone escaped from Egypt. Obadiah v 18 also speaks of the house of Jacob and the house of Joseph; and v 17, "Upon mount Zion there shall be deliverance...and the house of Jacob shall possess their possessions", seems to suggest that the poet means "Jacob" to signify Judah, and "Joseph" Israel.

Ps 78 reviews the history of Israel and ~~David~~ Judah from the Exodus to the coronation of David; and it opens and closes with the parallel, Jacob and Israel. In v 5 we read, "He established a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a law in Israel", and in v 71, "He brought him (David) to feed Jacob his people, and Israel his inheritance". In the expressions "his people", "his inheritance", the pronoun "his" doubtless refers to Yahweh. Here, it would seem that "Jacob" and "Israel" each imply all Jewry. Briggs (ICC Ps II 181) regards this psalm as a post-exilic compilation from several older psalms, full of glosses. As already noted, it is likely enough that at this late period (assuming that Briggs' dating of the psalm is correct) the terms Jacob and Israel might each have become comprehensive. This is the more probable, because in v 67,68 of this same psalm, the poet, speaking of the fall of Shiloh and David's transfer of the ark to Jerusalem, says, "He (Yahweh) refused the tabernacle of Joseph, and chose not the tribe of Ephraim: but chose the tribe of Judah, the mount Zion which he loved." To denote north and south, the poet speaks respectively of Joseph and Ephraim, and of Judah and Mount Zion. This suggests, but of course does not prove, that for him Jacob and Israel had a ~~different~~ different meaning, each being comprehensive.

Quite tentatively, then, the writer would suggest that down to the Exile the men of Judah and Israel each claimed to be the spiritual descendants of Jacob, and regarded their king as the rightful leader of the true Israel, the northerners regarding Israel, the northern kingdom, as the true Jacob because it had once possessed the ark and still possessed Jacob's Well, while the southerners claimed that Judah was now the real Jacob because the ark had chosen to live at Jerusalem. (That is, Yahweh, who was regarded as dwelling in the ark, had inspired David to bring it to Jerusalem.) After the Exile these two rival conceptions would vanish, and be replaced by the realisation that the new Jerusalem had inherited the worship

of Yahweh, together with all that was best in the traditions of Judah and Israel alike.

This conception of Jewry is plainly revealed in a remarkable passage in Ezekiel, ch 37 v 15f. The prophet fastens together two sticks, symbolising that after the Exile the two kingdoms will henceforth be one. The two kingdoms he labels "Judah, and the children of Israel her companions", and "Joseph, Ephraim, and all the house of Israel his companions". Israel, then, was already accepted as a comprehensive term for both kingdoms combined, in the period of the Exile. This is understandable, not only because it was the larger nation, but because it had been much longer in exile. All Mesopotamia had long been familiar with the name when the new exiles from Jerusalem arrived, and so would naturally apply the same label to them. Ezekiel continues (v 22,25), "And I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel (again, evidently a comprehensive term); and one king shall be king to them all; and they shall be no more two nations...(v 24) and David my servant shall be king over them...(v 25)...and they shall dwell in the land that I have ~~in~~ given unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt." It seems evident that here, "David" is used poetically to mean a linear descendant of David; while the land of Jacob, again, must surely be a comprehensive term for all Palestine.

In view of this evidence, it seems clear enough that in the late OT writings the names Jacob and Israel were used idealistically to mean all Palestine, or at least both kingdoms combined. But since the historical books consistently use the name Israel to denote the northern kingdom, and ~~since~~ Jacob's Well was in the north, at a place closely bound up with the coronation of the northern kings, these words must surely, both of them, have been used originally as synonyms of the northern kingdom only. David's removal of the ark to Jerusalem may then have given his people in general and his poets in particular an excuse to claim that Judah, which now possessed the ark, was henceforth the true Jacob, and that David was the divinely-appointed ruler of all Israel, which ought to mean both kingdoms combined. And it may well be that in the Blessing of Jacob and the Oracles of Balaam we have the earliest extant witnesses to this new conception of Israel; a conception destined, in the dark days of the Exile, to be transmuted into a vision of the new Jerusalem, capital of a resurgent and united nation; and at last destined to bring to birth the real "New Israel", the Church of Christ.

Chapter 19. THE LATER TRIBAL LISTS.

The Blessing of Jacob presents a picture of the Hebrew tribal system far different from that revealed by the Song of Deborah and the account in 2 S 2 v 9 of Ishbaal's kingdom. The two last-named texts reveal a viewpoint essentially practical and realistic, which named and described the Hebrew tribal system in terms of the geographic and political ~~actualities~~ actualities of ~~those~~ those ages. The use of such terms as Gilead and Jezreel shows a tendency to use geographical rather than genealogical labels, which confirms Noth's belief (GI 56, 60, 66) that Naphtali, Ephraim, and Judah were names of hill-ranges, afterwards applied to the Israelites and Judahites who settled there. The interest of the later writers in genealogies (especially the compilers of the Pentateuch, and the Chronicler) needs no demonstration; and, in view of the evidence examined in the previous chapter, the writer would suggest that while this genealogical interest may to a limited extent have been present during the period of the Judges and the earliest Monarchy, it was the rival claims of the kings of Israel and Judah that chiefly stimulated it. The Blessing of Jacob, in its earliest form, seems to have been an idealisation of David's coalition kingdom. That this picture sometimes strays from reality is shown by its inclusion of Simeon and Levi, though the first was an absorbed and moribund clan and the second a scattered one. The Song of Deborah omits both names, and omits also the name of Judah. Manasseh it names Machir, while the inhabitants of Transjordan, who are described elsewhere in the OT as "the Reubenites and the Gadites and the half tribe of Manasseh", appear both in the Song of Deborah and in the account of Ishbaal's kingdom simply as "Gilead".

The later tribal lists are based on the traditions represented by Gn 49 rather than on those underlying Jd 5 and 2 S 2 v 9, as the following table shows:-

OLD TESTAMENT TRIBAL LISTS								
Ancient	P - Source						Chronicler	
Gn 49	Gn 35	Gn 46	Ex 1	Nm 1v20	Nm 26v1	Nm 1v5	1 Chr 2	1 Chr 27
Reuben	Reuben	Reuben	Reuben	Reuben	Reuben	Reuben	Reuben	Reuben
Simeon	Simeon	Simeon	Simeon	Simeon	Simeon	Simeon	Simeon	Simeon
Levi	Levi	Levi	Levi	Gad	Gad		Levi	Levi
Judah	Judah	Judah	Judah	Judah	Judah	Judah	Judah	Judah
Zebulun	Issachar	Issachar	Issachar	Issachar	Issachar	Issachar	Issachar	
Issachar	Zebulun	Zebulun	Zebulun	Zebulun	Zebulun	Zebulun	Zebulun	Zebulun
Dan Gad Asher	Joseph	Gad	(Joseph)	Ephraim	Ephraim	Ephraim	Dan	Naphtali
	Benjamin	Asher	Benjamin	Manasseh	Manasseh	Manasseh		
		Jos-M, Eph		Benjamin	Benjamin	Benjamin	Joseph	Ephraim
		Benjamin					Benjamin	Man-West
								Man-East
								Benjamin
Dan	Dan	Dan	Dan	Dan	Dan	Dan		Dan
Gad	Naphtali	Naphtali	Naphtali	Asher	Asher	Asher	Naphtali	
Asher	Gad		Gad			Gad	Gad	
Naphtali	Asher		Asher	Naphtali	Naphtali	Naphtali	Asher	
Joseph								
Benjamin								

The solidarity of the Leah-six grouping is the most striking feature of these

lists; and this is also their most striking point of divergence from the sequence in Jd 5. For all periods from the Judges onwards this Leah-six grouping seems unreal. There is no evidence of any connection between Issachar and Zebulun, in the Jezreel area, and Simeon and Judah in the south; and throughout these periods Levi is scattered and landless, while Simeon is absorbed into Judah. If any historical reality lies behind this grouping, it can only lie in the remote past, in the days of the Aramaean wanderings, or immediately after them. Then, it may be, the groups (then, perhaps, quite small) represented by these names, may have pastured their flocks every summer around Jacob's Well, until a murderous dispute with the twonsfolk of Shechem scattered them, Issachar and Zebulun to the north, the rest to the south. But even on this basis the list appears unrealistic, if we adopt Noth's very reasonable theory (GI 56-66) that Naphtali, Ephraim, and Judah were names of hills, only afterwards adopted as tribal names. The Judah league seems to have been a mixed collection of tribes of differing origin, among which Simeon are apparently the only real representatives of the Leah-group, if we admit that Judah was the general league-name, not that of any one tribe. Then the notice of Issachar in Gn 49 ("Hired-man") tells us that the tribe gained this nickname because it bartered its ancient freedom for Canaanite employment; a very likely event, supported by the repeated statement in Jd 1 that many Israelites "dwelt among" the Canaanites. This tribal name, also, can hardly have been known when the Jacob-group were still free shepherds roaming the hills. Thus, the Leah-six group seems to be a grotesque mixture of old tradition and later geographical fact: in short, as already suggested, an anachronistic, sentimental, antiquarian conception, inspired, very likely, by the unusual size and power of David's coalition-kingdom.

This means that the plays on tribal names in Gn 29,30, though older than the lists in P and the Chronicler, were still compiled in an age remote enough from pre-monarchic days to have forgotten the real history of the origin and development of the Judah League. If Judah was the name of a range of hills, Leah certainly did not bestow this name on her fourth son because when he was born she said, "Now will I praise Yahweh"! Noth (GI 56) says emphatically that "Judah" is not like a Semitic person-name formation, and has nothing to do with Yahweh. ^{or praise} This play on the ~~same~~ name appears also in Gn 49 v 8, which suggests that the Leah-Six songs scattered through Gn 29,30, though doubtless older than the conflated JE narrative in which they are embedded, are yet not so old as Gn 49, but were very likely compiled in imitation of it, especially of the Leah-songs with which Gn 49 opens. The Lexicon admits that the connection of "Judah" with ~~the same name of~~ ^{praise or with} Yahweh is "dubious", and compares "Judah" with the Assyrian word "Iaudu", which meant "land". Moreover, if we accept Noth's theory (System, 83) that Leah = cow and Rachel = sheep, the "sons of Leah" and the "sons of Rachel" having acquired these nicknames simply because the former group raised cattle and the latter sheep, then Jacob's two "wives" vanish into thin air, and the story of his troubled marital relationships must be regarded as pure fiction; perhaps old desert-tales, told of many other sheikhs as well as the eponymous ancestor of the Jacob-group. It seems likely that Reuben, Simeon, and Levi are the only sub-groups of the Reuben-group that we can trace really far into the past. And this, despite the story in Gn 38 of the adventures of Judah. This chapter may well reflect true alliances made between Judah and certain Canaanite cities farther north-west, including Adullam; but we must probably regard them as alliances made by the Judah league; the absorption, by friendly agreement, of these cities into the league, perhaps as a measure of mutual protection against the growing menace of Philistia. Fact and fiction are very likely to be inextricably mixed in such old popular traditions as these.

If, then, both Judah and Issachar were unknown to the original Jacob-group as names of sections of their own number, both Gn 49 and the birth-songs in Gn 29,30 must be regarded as synthetic productions, incorporating, doubtless, old tribal songs, and up to a point preserving genuine tribal history, but with an admixture of misunderstandings as to the nature of Judah (a league, rather than a tribe) and the derivation of the tribal names. This misunderstanding appears also in the Gad-songs in Gn 49 and Gn 29,30, both of which treat the tribal name as being related to GADUD, a troop, though in fact Gad was an Aramaean god of luck. Here, also, the Gn 29,30 compilation seems to have imitated Gn 49, or the other way round. The compilations also resemble one another in structure. In both, the six Leah-songs seem to have formed a self-contained group, constructed of two equal halves - this, despite the tradition in the J-context in Gn 29,30 that the two Leah sub-groups consisted of 4 + 2 tribes, not of ~~but~~ 3 + 3. In Gn 49 the first tribe of each triad is emphasised by the use of an emphatic personal pronoun: "Reuben, thou art my firstborn": "Judah, thee thy brethren praise." (The pronouns are identical in form in the Hebrew.) The song-cycle in Gn 29,30 achieves a similar result by emphasizing the last tribe of each triad: "Now will my husband cleave to me, for I have borne him three sons": "Now will my husband dwell with me, for I have borne him six sons". In the Leah-cycle in Gn 29,30 we may also note the resemblance between the first two songs of the Cycle (Reuben and Simeon): "Yahweh hath seen my affliction": "Yahweh hath heard I was hated". The Judah-song, alone of the Leah-songs in Gn 29,30, has only one line; possibly a second line has fallen out.

In both compilations the Leah-song-cycles, by their intricate structure, which must surely, in its original form, have been a planned structure, stand apart from the remaining songs, which look more like old tribal sayings of independent origin. The non-Leah songs in Gn 29,30 are a very miscellaneous lot. But the tree and animal songs in Gn 49 may well have formed a cycle on their own; though whether the lion of Judah in Gn 49 occupied any place in this menagerie seems to the writer somewhat doubtful, since evidence previously examined suggests that Saul's kingdom excluded Judah. As we have noted, the lion appears in the Oracles of Balaam as well as in the Dan-song in Dt 33. Possibly the compilers of Gn 49 composed the Leah-songs to go along with a pre-existing northern set of tree and animal songs, and added the lion-song in imitation of these. A dogmatic conclusion is not possible on such uncertain evidence. But, broadly speaking, it seems possible that both Gn 49 and the songs in Gn 29,30 were compiled in praise of David and his united kingdom, and that one of these compilations was a deliberate imitation of the other.

On the following page appears a tentative reconstruction of the earliest form of Gn 49, side by side with the songs in Gn 29,30. Block capitals are used to show the planned structure of the two Leah-cycles, as the writer regards them, ~~while underlinings show the points of resemblance between the two compilations.~~ while underlinings show the points of resemblance between the two compilations. Since the narrative in Gn 29,30 groups the Leah-tribes into 4 + 2, while their grouping in the songs is 3 + 3, the sandwiching of the adopted tribes between the Leah sub-groups may also be the work of the narrators, and is therefore disregarded in the following reconstruction. By disregarding it, we obtain a name-sequence very similar to that in Gn 49. Noth (System, 9) regards the omission of Benjamin in Gn 30 as probably due to its presence in the independent birth-tradition in Gn 35 v 16f.

CONJECTURAL RECONSTRUCTIONS OF THE TRIBAL SONGS IN Gn 49 AND Gn 29,30.

Gn 49	Gn 29,30
Assemble and hear, sons of Jacob And hearken to Israel your father	
REUBEN, THOU art my firstborn My might: chief of my strength First in glory, first in power	YAHWEH HATH SEEN my affliction (Reuben) So now my husband will love me
Simeon and Levi are brethren Weapons of violence their swords	YAHWEH HATH HEARD I was hated (Simeon) So he gives this son also
.....	NOW WILL MY HUSBAND CLEAVE TO ME (Levi) FOR I HAVE BORNE HIM THREE SONS
JUDAH, THEE thy brethren <u>praise</u> Thy hand on thine enemies' neck Thy father's sons obey thee	Now will I <u>praise</u> Yahweh (Judah)
Zebulun dwells at the seaside He is a haven for ships	(Yahweh) hath paid me my hire (Issachar) For I gave my maid to my husband
Issachar's a bony ass Crouching between two packs	NOW WILL MY HUSBAND EXALT ME (Zebulun) FOR I HAVE BORNE HIM SIX SONS
=====	=====
Dan shall <u>judge</u> his people As one of the tribes of Israel	God hath <u>judged</u> me (Dan) And heard my voice And given me a son
Gad, a <u>troop</u> shall invade him, But he invadeth last!	A <u>troop</u> comes! (Gad)
From Asher his bread shall be fat He yieldeth royal dainties	Happy am I (Asher) For the daughters shall call me blessed
Naphtali is a fleeting hind Producing comely young	With mighty wrestlings (Naphtali) I wrestled with my sister And I have prevailed
Joseph's a fruitful bough A fruitful bough by a well Whose branches run over the wall	Yahweh will add to me another son (Joseph)
Benjamin ravines as a wolf At morn he devours the prey At night he divides the spoil	_____

The writer would suggest that the presence of the ark at Jerusalem meant for the men of Judah what the presence of the Coronation Stone at Westminster Abbey means for the English. David took the ark from Gibeah, Saul's capital, after Saul's death, as the English took the Coronation Stone from Scone, the ancient coronation-place of the Kings of Scotland. Our British monarchs are crowned over the stone, as David and his successors were crowned, as Yahweh's anointed, by the authority of the ark, the dwelling of Yahweh. And in Ps 132, Yahweh is syncretised with the Abhir of Jacob, the old ancestral god of the Jacob-group when they used to sojourn at Shechem, before the coming of the Joseph-group. So the writer would interpret the evidence which we have examined. Consequently, although the racial ancestors of the men of Judah were the men of that heterogeneous mixture of tribes which had comprised the old Judah league, they regarded the Jacob group as their ~~spirit~~ spiritual ancestors. This, the writer believes, is the reason why the songs in Gn 49 and Gn 29,30 ignore Caleb, Othniel, and the other Negeb groups, and mention the moribund tribe of Reuben, the absorbed tribe of Simeon, and the scattered tribe of Levi, while perpetuating the ancient link between the northern and southern Leah-tribes, which in fact had long since been broken.

This theory explains the tremendous emphasis placed upon genealogies and patriarchal tradition by the Pentateuchal compilers. For them the history of David's kingdom did not begin with David, but with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Hence, we can well understand why P and the Chronicler, in their tribal lists, adhere so closely to the Leah-sequence of Gn 49, while they rearrange the other tribes with comparative freedom. And this very rearrangement, which seems to have been done to bring the tribal sequence nearer to geographic reality, emphasizes the evident fact that for these later writers the Leah-grouping ~~(which was the original basis of the tribal system)~~ is sacrosanct. It is embedded too deep in sacral tradition for any serious attempt to be made to bring it into line with contemporary or historical reality.

Noth, however, (System, 14,36-38) believes that a twelve-tribe system had actually existed from the time of Joshua to that of David; and he remarks on the way in which the twelve-tally is usually made up when any tribe drops out of the list. For example, in the three lists from Numbers, Levi drops out, and Joseph is divided into Ephraim and Manasseh. In 1 Chr 27 (which, however, only yields a total of 11 tribes) Levi is retained; but both Gad and Issachar are missing; Manasseh is split into its east and west parts. Noth sees in these ~~facts~~ and similar facts proof that the 12-tally was an essential feature of the tribal system. It seems likely, however, that this 12-tribe conception was projected on to the period of the Judges by the writers of the late Monarchy and of still later periods. Certainly Jd 5 gives us a 10-tally, and Ishbaal's kingdom in 2 S 2 v 9 has 5 provinces.

The writer has suggested that the variations in the second, non-Leah half of the tribal lists of P and the Chronicler represent compromises between Gn 49, the prototype, apparently, of these later lists, and geographical reality. Thus, in all the P-lists quoted above save one, the Joseph-group (which, as we have seen, probably originally included Benjamin) is promoted to the top of the second six tribes. The Chronicler brings it nearly as high up. Only Gn 49 relegates it to the foot of the whole list. Gad wanders about the list in a curious way; and in two lists in Numbers it takes the place of Levi, omitted from these lists. This promotion of Gad suggests the influence of Peniel; and it is noteworthy that Numbers is oriented from Transjordan, and refers to places east of Jordan as being "this side Jordan".

Examples of this orientation of Numbers may be found in Nm 22 v 1, which states that Israel encamped "in the plains of Moab on this side Jordan by Jericho", and Nm 34 v 15, in which "the 2½ tribes" settle "on this side Jordan near Jericho, eastward, toward the sunrising". These glosses, surely would hardly have been necessary for Transjordan readers, and must have been added in west Jordan or even in Babylon.

In the list in 1 Chr 27 Issachar is missing, having perhaps been absorbed, in the later Monarchy, into Zebulun. The four books of Kings do not help us much here, since they mention Issachar only twice (1 K 4 v 17; 15 v 27), and Zebulun not at all. In the Psalter Issachar appears nowhere and Zebulun once, in Ps 68 v 27. In Dt 33 they are bracketed together, which supports the possibility that they formed a united group, and possibly, as the writer has suggested, an amphictyony, based on a temple on Carmel, and occupied with sea and land transport. The scanty evidence does not permit this theory to rank much higher than a bare possibility.

There are in the OT a number of tribal lists varying more widely from Gn 49. For example, in Dt 27, the tribes are divided between the hills Ebal and Gerizim to bless and curse, the order being given in v 12,13: "These shall stand upon mount Gerizim to bless...; Simeon & Levi & Judah & Issachar & Joseph & Benjamin: and these shall stand upon mount Ebal to curse; Reuben, Gad, & Asher, & Zebulun, Dan, & Naphtali." Since Reuben, the traditional firstborn, lead the cursing party on Ebal, which lay in Manassite territory north of Shechem, and since there follows a full code of curses, but only a brief nucleus of old blessing-formulae (Dt 28 v 3-6), which are paralleled by the curses in Dt 28 v 16-19, the latter looking very much like ~~some~~ a primitive specimen of witchcraft, it seems likely that this two-hill rite of blessings and cursings has been evolved (possibly on paper only) out of a one-hill cursing-rite performed on Ebal, possibly at the coronations of the kings of Israel. And the fact that Ebal lay in Manassite territory seems to confirm the tradition that Manasseh was originally the leading tribe of the Joseph-group. The distribution of the tribes is ingenious, but smacks of literary invention rather than of actual tribal practice. Reuben, the first Leah-tribe, take the lead on Ebal: Simeon, the second Leah-tribe, on Gerizim. Gad, the tribe which some tribal lists substitute for Levi, is posted on Ebal, and Levi on Gerizim. The second Leah-group (Issachar and Zebulun) are divided between the hills. The remaining places are filled by posting the adopted tribes on Ebal and the Joseph group on Gerizim. It is noteworthy that if Gn 49 emanated (in its original form) from Jerusalem, then in Dt 27 a southern tribal list has been superimposed on the account of a northern rite. This seems to suggest a fairly late date for the narrative, which increases the likelihood that the tribal grouping ~~between~~ between the two hills, and possibly the two-hill form of the rite as well, may be late literary inventions.

Another curious sequence, also possibly a mere late literary invention, occurs in the camp-order in Nm 2, which is also the basis of the marching-order in Nm 10. H. J. Krauss ("Gottesdienst im alten Israel") believes this camp-order to be based on a pre-monarchic rite. The present writer is inclined to suggest that its fundamental conception, shortly to be explained, dates back to Shiloh, but that the actual sequence of tribal names in Nm 2 is a literary invention, based on that fundamental conception. The compilers of Numbers seem themselves to have missed the point of the list, which they obscure by enumerating the camps in clockwise order, beginning with the east, the sacred compass-point of the ancient

world. But, again, the position of Reuben, at the head of the South camp, gives the clue to the order intended. If with begin with the South, and take the camps in anti-clockwise order, we obtain a sequence remarkably near to that of Gn 49, as shown below:-

	SOUTH	EAST
Nm 2:	Reuben, Simeon, Gad	Judah, Issachar, Zebulun
Gn 49:	Reuben, Simeon, Levi	Judah, Zebulun Issachar Zebulun,
	NORTH	WEST
Nm 2:	Dan, Asher, Naphtali	Ephraim, Manasseh, Benjamin
Gn 49:	Dan, Gad, Asher, Naphtali	J o s e p h , Benjamin

The fact that the Hebrew word Teman, like the cognate Arabic word Yemen, (literally "right hand") means South, illustrates the sacredness of the East in ancient Semitic thought; a sacredness based, possibly, on sun-worship, or perhaps on the fact that the ancestors of the Semites in the Fertile Crescent had mainly come originally from the East. The South, on the other hand, is the direction, according to ancient Hebrew poetry, from which the Yahweh-cult had originally come. And that cult had a close connection with the moon. Its feasts were held at the new moon and the full moon; and in view of the fact that Abraham (who was possibly the traditional ancestor of all the Aramaean wanderers) is said to have come from Ur, which had a temple of the moon-god Sin, it is possible that the Yahweh-cult of Sinai was originally linked with this name. In any case, the moon-feasts are certainly essential elements in Judaism. The moon's motion round the sky in any one night is clockwise, like that of the sun; but the moon has an anti-clockwise recession round the sky from night to night. That is to say, if the moon is due south at midnight tonight, it will be considerably farther round towards the east at midnight tomorrow. It seems possible, therefore, that this sequence in Nm 2 represents an anti-clockwise dance round the ark on moon-festivals, and that the march round Jericho described in Jsh 6 is another literary invention based on the same rite, Jericho (whose name, again, may mean "moon-city") in this case symbolising the ark. As Alt points out, (Kl.Schr.I 182) this story of the march round Jericho and final storming of the city is inconsistent with the other story of its capture by treachery; and Alt very reasonably sees in the whole complex saga a working-up of an old tale, designed to explain the existence in the ruins of Jericho of a colony of prostitutes who hung a scarlet thread from their window.

Another peculiar tribal list appears in Ezek 48 v 1-8. It names only seven tribes: Dan, Asher, Naphtali, Manasseh, Ephraim, Reuben, and Judah: plainly a simple geographical order from north to south, which ignores Transjordan. This last omission is understandable, since Transjordan was finally overrun by invaders before the downfall of Samaria, while Judah maintained its existence for roughly a century and a half after that event. The symbol seven is conspicuous in the eschatological writings of the OT & NT, and perhaps derives ultimately from strict observance of the Sabbath, the 7th day of the week. And this suggests that the tribal 12-tally, so conspicuous by its absence from the traditions of Judges and 1,2 Samuel, also has a literary and religious origin rather than an historical one. True, there is a 12-tribe offering-rota in Nm 7; but the offerings are made, not monthly, but on 12 successive days.; and 1 S 1 v 3 mentions an annual feast of Yahweh at Shiloh, not a monthly one.

According to 1 K 4 v 7f, Solomon introduced a monthly provision-rota for the royal table; but his administrative districts which he created for this purpose bear little resemblance to the tribal lists of the OT. His districts were as given below:-

(1) Ephraim. (2) Makaz, etc. (3) Sochol and Hephher. (4) Dor. (5) Taanach and Megiddo. (6) Jair (Gilead) and Argob (Bashan). (7) Mahansaim. (8) Naphtali. (9) Asher and Aloth. (10) Issachar. (11) Benjamin. (12) Gilead.

Three of these districts (Nos. 6, 7, & 12) lie within the old tribal areas of Gad and Manasseh-East, while Judah is not represented at all. The only factor common to Solomon's system and the tribal system is the 12-tally; a slender basis on which to build any ^{city} ~~city~~, especially when we remember what a favourite common number 12 was in Hebrew thought. This Hebrew passion for round numbers may be the expression of mysticism or merely of a liking for a neat, diagrammatic presentation of fact; but it certainly makes one look ~~a~~ a little distrustfully at the 12-tribe lists of the OT. The simple fact seems to be that at no time were all the 12 tribes territorial divisions of Israel. Perhaps no explanation of these later tribal lists, or of their prototype in Gn 49, can be completely satisfying; but to the present writer the idea that these lists have a cultic basis, centred ultimately upon the presence of the ark at Jerusalem, seems as reasonable as any other.

Chapter 20. THE BLESSING OF MOSES.

The Blessing of Moses differs markedly from that of Jacob in several respects. The spirit of the poem in general is at once more optimistic and more deeply religious. Oesterley (AHP 35) states that "as a work of art, this poem must be regarded as inferior to the Blessing of Jacob." The curious disjointed irregularity of the poem in its extant form certainly supports Oesterley's statement. But this irregularity seems to have resulted from a process of piecemeal growth, whereas the Blessing of Jacob, though also compiled, probably, from independent fragments, was put together, in the writer's view, with one unifying purpose in mind: the glorification of David's united kingdom. The writer believes that the original cores (there seem to be several) of Dt 33 also possess each their own unity: it is the peculiar way in which they have come together that has produced the wild irregularity of the poem in its present form.

In Dt 33 the presence of the recurrent formula, "And of X he said", betrays the hand of the late compiler. We notice, also, that outside the scheme of tribal songs stand a prologue (v 2-5) and an epilogue (v 26-29), which are linked together by their common use of the rare word Jeshurun. This old name for Israel ("the pious or honest folk") occurs elsewhere only in the Song of Moses (Dt 32 v 15), which immediately precedes the Blessing of Moses; and in Second Isaiah (Is 44 v 2), where it occurs in parallel with Jacob: "Fear not, O Jacob, my servant; and thou, Jeshurun, whom I have chosen." (The MT writes this Jesurun, but Kittel reads Jeshurun as in the other texts.) This quotation from 2nd-Is., considered by itself, might seem to suggest a post-exilic date for Dt 32 & 33. But the Prologue is in ancient company, being parallel to Hab. 3 and akin to the Song of Deborah (Jd 5 v 4,5) and Ps 68 v 7,8. Albright, admittedly, describes Hab. 3 as "archaizing" (Arch.Pal.233); but this probably refers to the psalm as a whole, and merely emphasizes the fact that in its opening verses it appears to have used ancient material. Of Dt 33, he says (OT & Mod Study,33) that in view of Ugaritic parallels in style, "the great age of the Blessings of Jacob and of Moses is confirmed." Oesterley (AHP 34) is doubtful, and writes, "The date of our poem is difficult to decide because the historical allusions are sometimes obscure, and because a particular condition indicated may refer to more than one period. There can be no doubt of its being later than the Blessing of Jacob, though it evidently contains an ancient kernel. Some authorities place it, in its present form, at the end of the exilic period, though others assign to a much earlier time, soon after the division of the monarchy, and yet others a couple of centuries later. It does not seem possible to come to a definite decision, the probability being that different parts were composed at different times, so far as their present form is concerned."

The underlinings are the present writer's. It seems to him that the conflict between Oesterley's opinion and Albright's is much less than it would seem at first sight to be, if we grant the probability that when Albright ~~speaks of the~~ refers to "the great age" of Dt 33, he is thinking primarily of that "ancient kernel", the existence of which Oesterley fully recognizes. The Song of Levi (v 8-11) certainly sounds post-exilic. True, there was a Levite priesthood at Dan, according to Jd 18 v 31, as far back as the days of the Judges; but we hear nothing of such embittered ecclesiastical disputes, at Dan, as are suggested by the anathemas in v 11; whereas this verse would perfectly fit the quarrels in the Second Temple at Jerusalem in post-exilic ages. Then again, the reference to Judah, brief and humble as it is, is certainly startling. This, surely, is a late

addition; and the same may very well be true of the Reuben-song. When these songs of Reuben, Judah, and Levi are omitted, - and they are strikingly out of tune with the rest of the poem - we find that the remainder completely ignores the southern tribes, and loads blessings on the head of Joseph. In short, the writer believes that the original compilation was a northern one, composed during some golden age in the history of the northern kingdom.

In that history, golden ages were not too plentiful. And v 17 of the Joseph-song gives us a hint where to look in the annals of Israel for this particular golden age. This verse is closely parallel to Zedekiah's horn-song in 1 K 22 v 11; a song traditionally linked with Ahab's wars against Syria. But Ahab was killed on the battlefield; and his reign ended in darkness and misery. If the Joseph-song in Dt 33 celebrates victories over Syria, the obvious reign to which we may ascribe it is that of Jeroboam II, the age of Israel's renaissance. The writer would suggest, therefore, that Dt 33, shorn of its late additions, consists of three main elements: (1) A pair of linked psalms, which now form the prologue and epilogue, and were composed by a northern poet to celebrate Jeroboam II's Syrian victories. (V 2-5 & 26-29.)

(2) The Blessings of Benjamin and Joseph, originally, perhaps, united as a single Blessing of Joseph, Joseph here meaning the northern kingdom as a whole, as it does in the sayings of Hosea, a contemporary of Jeroboam II. This song also, the writer believes, was composed (perhaps by a different poet) to celebrate Jeroboam II's victories. (V 12-17, omitting, perhaps, the last two clauses of 17.)

(3) An old set of northern tribal songs, similar to those in Gn 49, and perhaps of diverse origin and date. (V 18-25.)

The tribal songs in v 18-25 break the emotional and dramatic thread of the poem as a whole. It seems likely, therefore, that the Joseph-song was first inserted into the twin psalms (i.e. v 12-17 were sandwiched between 2-5 and 26-29), before the tribal songs in v 18-25 found their way into the compilation. If we read through the Prologue, Joseph-song, and Epilogue, omitting the other sections, we find that together they form a sublime and **deeply** satisfying whole, simple and consistent in its ideas, and rising (in the Epilogue) to one of the grandest climaxes in the Bible. The suggestion that this conflation of twin psalms and Joseph-blessing is of northern origin seems to be clearly proved by the Epilogue, which again introduces the motif of thrusting out the enemy, as if with horns; and which goes on to say, "Israel then shall dwell in safety alone" - a phrase that recalls the description, in v 16, of Joseph as "him that was separated from his brethren". It could, of course, be argued that this is a reference to the Joseph-saga in Genesis, which describes how Joseph was taken to Egypt. But it seems much more likely that it refers to the splitting of the kingdom under Rehoboam. The victorious northern kingdom will dwell in safety alone: without Judah's aid. And the reference, immediately after this, to "the fountain of Jacob", surely signifies Jacob's Well at Shechem, a place which the northerners may well have regarded with special veneration as the spiritual heart of their kingdom.

Incidentally, some of the tribal songs in the section v 18-25 support various theories that have been advanced in these pages. V 19, which speaks of the sacrificial offerings of Zebulun and Issachar, supports the idea that these two tribes were closely united in maritime trade with an amphictyonic centre of their own. In v 21 we see the priestly and judicial functions of Gad, centred, doubtless, upon the ancient sanctuary at Peniel, one of Jeroboam I's key-points. In v 22, Dan,

another key-point of the northern kingdom, appears no longer as a nest of brigands (as in Gn 49), but is "a lion's whelp", leaping from Bashan. This may well be a reference to hard and valiant fighting on the frontier during the Syrian Wars; and we may be sure that Jeroboam II was wise enough to post some of his best soldiers in that dangerous outpost, and that in the dark days of the war they did yeoman service there. The Blessing of Naphtali, as previously suggested, may date back to the days of the Judges, and hail from Kedesh-Naphtali; and it may commemorate grants of land made to Naphtali by Barak in gratitude for their assistance in capturing Hazor and conquering Jabin. V 24,25 celebrates the prosperity of Asher, with its busy seaports, and supports the writer's suggestion that this go-ahead tribe probably became the dominant power in Galilee.

But for the general purpose of our study, perhaps the most illuminating parts of Dt 33 are the Prologue, Joseph-Blessing, and Epilogue. These sublime compositions reveal, more clearly, perhaps, than any of the other ancient poems studied in these pages, the roots of Israel's greatness. She is "the beloved of Yahweh"; He loves her and has chosen her, above all the nations upon earth. Because of that covenant-love, she is kept safe by Yahweh (v 29) - but only so long as she obeys His law. This is a side of Israel's life of which the other ancient poems say little; but Dt 33 v 4, "Moses commanded us a law, the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob", shows that ~~it~~ already in the days of Jeroboam II, and doubtless as far back as the days of Shiloh, the Mosaic Law (in whatever form it may then have existed) was fundamental to Israel's faith. It was an essential part of Yahweh's covenant with her. Finally, Israel's trust in Yahweh, even in the darkest hours of her history, was never more movingly expressed than in that verse which forms the supreme climax of the poem, and which, most fittingly, has found its way into the burial service of many Christian denominations: "The eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms."

Dt 32 and 33 form a self-contained section which is plainly liturgical in origin. The Christian Hours, which developed out of the Jewish Hours, are based upon the singing of a sequence of psalms, interspersed with Scripture texts, prayers, doxologies, and responses. Dt 32 and 33 reveal a similar structure, and (shorn of later additions) may well have been sung by Jeroboam II's ~~xxx~~ subjects at victory thanksgivings and commemorations. If they were, humanity has every cause to be grateful to the men of Israel, who in this way bequeathed to the world this inspiring expression of their faith. And that faith was indeed fitted and divinely destined to be a pedagogue, to lead the world to Christ.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE JOSEPH-SONG, Dt 33 v 13-16.

This song refers to the "bush-dweller", which critics usually take to be a reference to Yahweh's appearance in the burning bush, in Ex 3 v 2f. This is additional support for the theory that the traditions of Sinai and the Exodus belonged originally to the Joseph-group.

This Joseph-song in Dt 33 is similar to one part of the Joseph-song in Gn 49 (v 25,26), which in turn resembles the songs of Jacob and Esau in Gn 27 v 27b-29, 39b,40. Perhaps the most likely explanation of these resemblances is that these phrases were common to the poetry of all these Semitic groups, and are, in fact, examples of that literary "stockpot" to which the writer has alluded. The Jacob-song (Gn 27 v 29) also resembles the first Judah-song in Gn 49 (v 8); a fact that may again mean no more than that such phrases were common in Semitic poetry. If it denotes a genuine traditional link between the two songs, it again suggests that in the poetry of the southern Monarchy "Jacob" could be used to mean "Judah". The Esau-song in Gn 27 speaks of a revolt of Edom against "thy brother", which seems to link it with the book of Obadiah, in which also "Jacob", the brother of Esau, is prominent. Here Jacob seems to mean Judah; and it was Judah, under David's leadership, who conquered Edom (2 S 8 v 14). It revolted under Solomon (1 K 11 v 14f); was re-conquered by Jehoshaphat (1 K 22 v 47); and revolted finally under his son Jehoram (2 K 8 v 22), until the end of the Judahite Monarchy. The Esau-song in Gn 27 therefore seems to date from the middle or late Monarchy. These intricate verbal relationships, covering, as they apparently do, three kingdoms (Israel, Judah, and Edom), are a timely warning against placing too much reliance on verbal resemblances, unless they are very close, and are supported by independent evidence. Any conclusions in these pages which are based on such verbal evidence are therefore offered in a purely tentative way.